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The Bar Association and the Negro

Two very practical questions were before the lawyers who gathered together at the meeting of the American Bar Association at Milwaukee last week. Both of these questions have been involved in the political campaign, but they are not primarily political. One of them is the Negro question; the other is the question as to the relation between the people and their courts. The Negro question was presented in a very practical form. Some time ago three lawyers were proposed for membership in the American Bar Association. They were members of the bar in good standing, and were vouched for professionally. The executive committee of the Association to whom these three candidates were recommended accepted them as members of the Association. It then became known to the executive committee and members of the Association generally that these three lawyers were Negroes. Probably no general publicity would have been given to this matter if it had not been for the fact that one of the three has been appointed by the President of the United States as an Assistant Attorney-General. When the fact that he and the two others were Negroes became generally known, there was a protest from members of the Association. The reason for the objection was alleged to be that the Bar Association was primarily a social organization, and that the feeling for the social separation of the races was so strong, particularly in certain parts of the country, that it was unwise to admit colored men to membership. On the ground that the names of these men had been submitted without any statement that they were colored men, and that therefore their election was brought about under a misapprehension, the committee rescinded its own action and referred the whole matter to the Association itself. In doing this, it seems to us, the committee, if it was acting within its power, did wisely. Such a question as this ought not to be left for final decision by a committee, but should be acted upon by the whole body. We are glad to say that the Bar Association, in taking up this subject, confirmed the election of these three colored lawyers. By this action the Bar Association has rendered a service, not primarily to these particular lawyers, but to its own standing. If the Bar Association were merely a social club, there is no reason whatever why its members should not prefer to keep its membership confined exclusively to the white race. By recognizing the membership of Negroes, however, the Association has declared that it is not a club, but is a body of men organized in the interests of a great profession, and of the high ends to which that profession is dedicated. Incorporated in the resolutions recognizing these three men as members was a statement to the effect that, "as it has never been contemplated that members of the colored race should become members of this Association," recommendations of colored men for membership should hereafter be always accompanied with a statement of the candidate's race. We can see nothing objectionable in this statement concerning the practice hitherto of the Association, and none but good reasons for making it clear hereafter that such a misunderstanding as has raised this question this time should not occur again. One of the three colored lawyers, upon having his membership confirmed, immediately resigned from the Association. He did not withdraw until the fundamental question regarding race lines had been passed upon; but, that being settled, he, with great self-respect, relinquished his membership, since it had been the product of a misunderstanding. A difficult question which might easily have resulted in a bitter and lasting controversy has thus, by the application of good sense, been settled with general credit. The other question, that relating to the relation

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between the courts and the people, was the subject of prolonged discussion and of resolutions passed by the Association. We await the receipt of an official report of these resolutions before making comment upon them.

Another Disturbance in Secretary Wilson's Department

Trouble, like a cloud, seems to hang over the Department of Agriculture. The Pinchot-Ballinger controversy involved it in turmoil. The Wiley case, affecting the enforcement of the Pure Food Law, revealed to the public the state of disorganization and conflict within the Department that deprived it of a measure of public confidence. Now a Committee of Congress—the House Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture—has made report regarding an investigation it has been conducting on the work of the Department in relation to the drainage of the Florida Everglades. This Committee has been holding hearings for some time and has collected a large amount of testimony. Its report, however, is very brief. It consists of two parts, one expressing views of the majority, signed by Mr. Moss, the Chairman, and two others; the other, representing the views of the minority, signed by Mr. Sloan, with the reported concurrence of the other two minority members. There are two great classes of reclaimable waste lands in the United States. One of these classes consists of the lands which cannot be cultivated for lack of water. Immense tracts of such lands have been held by the Government and are now reclaimed or in the process of reclamation by means of vast irrigating projects. The other lands are those which are useless because they are largely submerged by water. These lands can be reclaimed by a process just opposite to that of irrigation—namely, drainage. Unfortunately, these swamp lands were allowed years ago to pass out of the hands of the Federal Government into the hands of the several States. It is of course obvious that the Government of a single State is much weaker than the Government of the Nation. It is less able to deal with such enormous undertakings as are involved in the drainage of such stretches of submerged lands; and it is much less competent to cope with the great powers of special private interests that see in such lands opportunities for speculative enterprise. The Florida Everglades provide a striking example of this fact. Companies organized for the purpose of exploiting these lands in Florida seized upon certain statements issued under the approval of the Drainage Division of the Department of Agriculture and circulated them in order to stimulate the sale of these lands before they had been drained. It transpired that these statements were made by the official in charge of the field investigations that had been carried on by the Department, but had not been critically examined by the authorities of the Department. The report from which these statements were culled was therefore held up. As a consequence there was an immediate protest from the people who were interested in these lands. The investigation of the Committee has now apparently shown that Mr. Wright, the official who made these statements on the part of the Government, was financially interested in these lands. This was several years ago. Mr. Wright has for some time now ceased to be connected with the Government. The Committee is divided in opinion concerning the relation which Assistant Secretary Hays holds to this affair. The majority cite facts which indicate that he knew about Mr. Wright's transactions, and that he himself, though not financially profiting by any transactions in the lands, took part in negotiations concerning those lands. The minority report defends Assistant Secretary Hays, and cites testimony to show that he did not know of Mr. Wright's connection, and that he is in no wise culpable. One other subject is considered in this report—namely, the methods used to meet a deficit in one of the subdivisions of the Department. The majority of the Committee believe that, though the methods used to meet that deficit were not justified, the two men who have been subjected to discipline because of these methods were unjustly treated. The minority do not deny this, but they do deny the authority of the Committee to express its opinion on this subject. There are two conclusions which the ordinary reader will draw from the report. One is that, coming after other revelations, this one confirms the impression that the Department of Agriculture is not, and has for some time not been, efficiently controlled or administered as a whole. The other conclusion is that this report emphasizes the folly of the Government in handing those swamp lands over to the State, and provides for the wise legislator and for the intelligent citizen a

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new warning against the proposals so insistently made that the Government repeat its former blunder by handing over other great natural resources to the States. When first made, such an error could be credited to ignorance. If it is repeated with regard to water power, for example, it can be credited only to stupidity.

Nicaragua

While Mr. Bacon, of Georgia, was introducing in the United States Senate the other day a resolution forbidding the use of American military forces in Nicaragua, orders were being issued by the Navy Department for the prompt reinforcement of those forces. There is need for such reinforcement if we are to protect the lives and property of American citizens. The attacking forces have been firing upon churches and hospitals, and even upon the American Legation at Managua, the Nicaraguan capital, and have otherwise disregarded the accepted rules of war. In the five days' bombardment of Managua many victims were mangled with *machetes* beyond identification, among them being a large number of women and over a hundred noncombatants. Our naval surgeons and the marines and bluejackets already at Managua volunteered their services to the Government in caring for the wounded there, and were able to check a threatened epidemic of fever. Mr. Weitzel, our Minister at Managua, claims that our interests can be protected only by a force at a number of points competent to act in defense against such assaults. Accordingly, the Navy Department is sending a force of upwards of two thousand bluejackets and marines into Nicaragua to protect foreign lives and property at the several points where there is danger and to keep the railway communication open from Managua to the Pacific coast. This line, American owned, runs from Managua to Corinto. Since the revolution broke out it has been in constant danger of interruption by the revolutionists under General Mena, formerly the Nicaraguan Minister of War. Of course, if the revolutionists took possession of the railway, all Americans in the capital would be cut off from the principal seaport on the Pacific Ocean. The sending of an American police force into Nicaragua seems abundantly justified by the events there, and by the statement of Señor Moncada, recently Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior, that "the lives and property of many Americans in Nicaragua are now imperiled," thus confirming the statement of our Minister at Managua. At Corinto the many foreigners, including all their women and children, have sought refuge on our naval vessels, and the town is policed by all the available men from those ships. The expected arrival of the cruisers California, Colorado, Cleveland, and Denver, with their marines, may convince doubters that our Government is in earnest in protecting our citizens and its property abroad, especially when threatened by such barbarity as now reigns in Nicaragua. According to late information, one reason why General Mena attempted to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government was because he fancied that ours did not "mean business" regarding its insistence upon the preservation of peace, the protection of our citizens and property, and respect for the pledges of our convention with Nicaragua, requiring an open election of the successor of President Diaz. It is now proposed that this election shall be properly guarded by our armed forces. Whether this be necessary or not, the Monroe Doctrine implies our moral responsibility for the conduct of the Latin-American republics, and, of them all, none has been more incorrigibly turbulent than Nicaragua.

The Alsop Claim

With the payment last week of a large amount to the Alsop claimants, attention is again drawn to international arbitration. Several years ago the Alsop claims threatened the friendly relations of the United States and Chile. The firm of Alsop & Co. was an American concern. It dealt in guano, hides, and minerals. It did business in Peru, Bolivia, and Chile. Thirty years ago these three nations were involved in war, in which some of the company's property was destroyed. In consequence, the company made claims against the three Governments. Bolivia and Peru settled with the company; but Chile did not, on the ground that the claims had to do with certain lands which meanwhile had been ceded outright by Bolivia to Chile. Thereupon the firm of Alsop & Co., by virtue of the American citizenship of its members, demanded our Government's support. Its defense seemed within our Government's right; certainly this had been accentuated by the firing by some Chilean enthusiasts on members of the crew of the United States gunboat Yorktown at Santiago, the principal

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Chilean port. Our Government proposed arbitration by the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague, but this was not welcomed by the Chilean Government. It finally consented to refer the claims to the good offices of Edward VII, King of England, as arbitrator, or, as the French have it, "amiable compositeur." On the King's death the dispute was submitted to his successor, George V. Last month, acting on the report of Lord Desart, Lord Robson, and Mr. Hurst, whom he had designated to study the case, King George pronounced his award, assigning a sum about one-third as much as the original amount of the claim to the Alsops in full settlement. The news was received here with much satisfaction, not only because of the decision itself, but also because the British Government had enabled ours to dispose of the only disputed question outstanding with Chile. The case is generally interesting as being one of the few nowadays for which the good offices of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague were not successfully invoked. Chile, though evidently willing to have the matter settled by arbitration, would not accede to our Government's request to submit the case to the Hague Court. Doubtless the Chileans thought that they might come off with better grace by submitting to more old-fashioned and more elastic arbitral methods. At all events, Latin-American pride seemed ruffled at a suggestion of The Hague's supposedly sterner justice. The old order naturally persists, especially among emotional peoples.

The Hague Court's Record

If the Alsop case calls attention to the Hague Court, it also calls attention to what that Court has accomplished since its establishment in 1902 following favorable action by the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 in authorizing its creation. Powers in controversy may establish special tribunals or mixed commissions, or, as in the Alsop case, may refer the case to a single arbiter. But if they choose the Hague Court, they must choose the judges from its general panel or list. To that list each signatory Power may contribute, if it likes, as many as four persons, to be appointed for a period of six years. From among these members of the permanent Court each party in dispute appoints an arbitrator. The two arbitrators choose an umpire. If they do not agree, each of them proposes two candidates taken from the list of the members of the permanent court, exclusive, of course, of the members appointed by either of the parties, and not being "nationals" of either of them. The manner of determining the choice of an umpire from these candidates is by lot. The umpire presides over the tribunal, which gives its decisions by a majority vote. The first case was that of our Government versus the Mexican in the "Pious Funds of the Californias" controversy. We won. The second case was that of Germany, Great Britain, and Italy versus our Government, the French, Dutch, and others in the Venezuela blockade case, in which the right of preference was claimed by the first-named Powers, which had blockaded Venezuelan ports. They won. The next case was that of Germany, France, and Great Britain versus Japan on the question of Japanese house taxes. The three Powers won. The fourth case was between Great Britain and France with regard to their respective treaty rights in Muscat in Arabia. Great Britain won on the main point. The fifth case was between Germany and France with regard to deserters from the army of occupation at Casablanca, Morocco. The decision left honors easy with each side. The sixth case was between Norway and Sweden with regard to their maritime frontier. Sweden won. The seventh case was between ourselves and Great Britain with regard to the Newfoundland fisheries and the interpretation of the treaty of 1818. We won on most of the points. The eighth case was between ourselves and Venezuela in the case of the Orinoco Steamship Company. We won. The next case was between Great Britain and France concerning the arrest of Savarkar, a Hindu. Great Britain won. The next case was between Russia and Turkey concerning arrears of interest on Russian indemnity. The award has not yet been rendered. The eleventh case was between Italy and Peru concerning the so-called Canevaro claims. Peru won. The latest case before the Court is between France and Italy, and concerns the seizure by the latter during the Turco-Italian war of three French ships. The court to inquire into this seizure has only recently been formed. We learn from an interesting statement just put forth by the "World Peace Foundation" of Boston that a thirteenth trial will shortly come before the Hague Tribunal. The contestants are Russia and Japan. Last year, it appears,

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when the Russian Government determined to extend the boundary of its territorial waters in the Sea of Okhotsk—east of Siberia and north of Japan—the Japanese Government immediately lodged a protest. The question, it appears, has now become so acute that three Japanese cruisers have been sent to the north. Without the Hague Court this controversy might have serious consequences. In view of past international dissensions the record of the Hague Court is impressive.

The Political Campaign

In the political campaign last week Governor Wilson invaded Pennsylvania and Mr. Roosevelt Vermont, while Governor Marshall and a number of other Democratic campaigners were busy in Maine. While Mr. Roosevelt was making a hundred-and-fifty-mile automobile journey through the Green Mountain State, speaking to attentive and enthusiastic crowds, Governor Wilson went into the Keystone State to make a speech at the picnic of the members of the State Grange. On his way to and from Williams Grove, where the picnic was held, he was compelled by large and expectant crowds to make a number of subsidiary talks. In his speech to the Grangers Mr. Wilson declared that, whether he was elected or not, he was going to have just as much fun one way as the other. He continued:

> I would like to have the fighting advantage that that great office would give me, but, having been born of a fighting breed, I do not have to have the office to do the fighting. I have enlisted for life, and I do not have to be an officer. I can shoot just as straight as a private. Moreover, I was born of a talkative race, and the only thing necessary in our day is to bring the facts out in the open and talk about them frankly.

He reminded his hearers that when he was running for Governor in New Jersey he told the people that, while he did not know what he would be able to do when he got in, there was one thing he could promise them: "Only let me inside and I will tell you everything that is going on in there." Governor Wilson declared that instead of conducting the National business along the lines laid down by Jefferson, as Americans had supposed they were doing, as a matter of fact they have been conducting it along the lines laid down by Hamilton. The leaders of the Republican party, he said, "have called into consultation in every vital matter only those who had the biggest material stake in the economic development of the country. These men financed party campaigns and were always on the inside when party policy was to be determined. . . . Everything went as they suggested, while the rank and file of us fared as we might and were happy if we had any small share in the prosperity which they organized for themselves. They were the trustees, we were their wards and took part in the common life as they planned and directed. What went on in the trustees' meeting we were very seldom allowed to learn—learn, indeed, only by impertinent inquiry, only by Congressional investigations or trials in court, which the trustees complained sadly interfered with the regular course of business." Governor Wilson declared that the whole method and spirit of conducting our Government should be changed, that the people should insist on being actual partners again and upon knowing how their business is being conducted and in whose interest. In referring to the tariff, which he has made perfectly evident that he considers the most vital issue in the campaign, Mr. Wilson gave an adroit turn to a phrase which Mr. Roosevelt has used in many speeches. Mr. Roosevelt has repeatedly said that what he was after was "a better distribution of the prize money." Governor Wilson in his speech said that Mr. Roosevelt has proclaimed himself a convert to the protective policy, has also said that, while no doubt some duties were too high, on the whole the policy pursued by Republican Administrations had been the right one, and "thought the prize money which had been received under that system by the manufacturers of the country was legitimate booty." Mr. Wilson continued:

> Prize money is generally acquired by capture and not by any process of earning, but Mr. Roosevelt is always frank and says that his only objection to the system is that too much of the "prize money" remains in the hands of the officers and too little of it is distributed to the crew. His own object he avows to be to see to it that more of the prize money gets into the pay envelopes of those whom the freebooters employ. The interesting point I wish to raise now is, Who supplies the plunder? From whom is the prize money taken? I suspect that a vast proportion of it comes out of the pockets of the farmer, unwillingly enough no doubt, but inevitably, for I see in him that great helpless class, the unbenefited "consumer."

Governor Wilson has put his finger on what is unquestionably the chief danger in a protective tariff. The difficulty is that as long

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as the tariff is a matter of international "tariff wars," no country can disregard the need of seeing that it gets its share of the benefits of the protective policy, and it should not ignore its duty in seeing that those benefits are justly distributed.

Congress

The second session of the Sixty-second Congress began on December 4, 1911; it ended on August 26, 1912. It lasted 267 days. Only seven times before in our history has a session exceeded it in length. The Sixty-second Congress is Republican in the Senate and Democratic in the House. Much of the legislation passed at this session is good; some is bad. The more important measures which are to be classed as good include:

The Children's Bureau Act.
The Direct Election of Senators Amendment.
The Phosphorus Match Act.
The Parcels Post Act.
The Russian Treaty resolution.
The Eight-Hour Government Work Act.
The Federal Regulation of Wireless Companies Act.
The Wireless Operators Act.
The Alaskan Civil Government Act.
The Industrial Bureau Act.
The Fur Seals Act.
Amendment to Food and Drugs Act.
The Panama Act.
The Act against prize-fight moving pictures.
The Act to prevent filibustering on the Mexican border.
Several good laws for the army and navy.

To offset these, there are few pieces of legislation against which to write the word "bad" save emphatically the Sherwood Pension Act. The events on the "bad" side are mostly sins of omission, not of commission. Congress's sins of omission are its failures—

To pass needed tariff legislation.
To pass needed trust legislation.
To pass needed monetary legislation.
To pass needed naval legislation.
To abolish the involuntary servitude of seamen.
To pass a workmen's compensation bill.
To extend agricultural education.
To act on the President's civil service recommendations.

The record of the session on the tariff may be summed up in the following results:

A Wool Bill and a Steel Bill passed Congress, were vetoed, and were repassed by the House but not by the Senate.

The Chemical Bill was killed in the Senate.

The Cotton Bill died in conference.

The Sugar Bill passed by the House was rejected by the Senate; and the Sugar Bill passed by the Senate was blocked in conference by the House.

The Excise Tax Bill, to replace the revenue to be lost if the House Sugar Bill had passed, died in conference.

More than a hundred thousand dollars has been actually expended, and as much more appropriated, by the House in a programme of investigation.

Economy—of a Kind, and Riders—of all Kinds

The Democratic majority in the House, according to the statements of its leaders, set out to make a record for economy. But we doubt very much if the means which it adopted to this end will commend themselves to the country at large. They included depriving the navy of a battle-ship, attempting to cut down the army, trying to eliminate some necessary bureaus in the Department of State, parsimony in making appropriations for the Government service, and abolishing the bi-partisan Tariff Board. On the other hand, the Democrats did not hesitate to pass a dollar-a-day service pension law involving additional expenditure of about $75,000,000, afterwards reduced by the Senate to $25,000,000 annually. The record of this session was further marked by an unprecedented use of "riders." The "rider" involves an endeavor to get through legislation, by attaching it to another piece of legislation, which could not be passed if the attempt were made to pass it by itself. Riders were attached to the appropriation bills for the army, pensions, the post-office, the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial, and the Sundry Civil Bills. It was also the case with the Panama Bill. Some of the "riders" proposed were good, as, for instance, the parcels post provision in the Post-Office Bill and the free ships provision in the Panama Bill; and some, like the latter provision, were more cognate to the general subject of the bills to which they were attached than were others. But the principle of legislation by "rider," especially when attached to an appropriation bill, is thoroughly bad. By the courageous use by the President of the veto power, there were prevented such spiteful pieces of mischief as Congress intended to perpetrate

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in the legislation aimed to oust General Wood as Chief of Staff; and in the seven-year civil service tenure "rider," which would have re-established the sway of the spoils system.

Congress and Foreign Relations

In the realm of foreign relations, any analysis of the work of the session must give prominence to three acts. The first was the joint resolution passed which forced the President to take immediate steps to abrogate the Russian treaty because of the Russian Government's persistent refusal to honor the passports of American citizens of Jewish faith. The second was the passage by the Senate of the Lodge resolution, growing out of the Magdalena Bay incident, and amplifying the Monroe Doctrine by asserting our Government's policy toward other Governments obtaining control of strategic harbors or bases of mine operation. The third is of course the act providing for the opening and operation of the Panama Canal, a measure that closely affects our foreign relations. As to the Senate's failures to pass proposed treaties, the most notable was when it refused to pass the general arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France recommended by the Administration, and approved them only in a shape not acceptable to the Administration, so that ratifications have never been exchanged. What is of more practical importance, especially in view of the present revolution in Nicaragua, is the Senate's failure to accept the treaties with Honduras and Nicaragua designed to prevent revolutionary activity in those countries. But perhaps the most important thing accomplished at this session was not legislation at all—the ousting of Senator Lorimer. When the inside history of this Congress is written, it will be seen, we believe, that the Lorimer contest was interwoven with the whole programme of legislation, and that it was the real cause of the failure of Congress to adjourn before the two National Conventions, rather than the natural desire of Congressmen to see how those Conventions "came out" and then "play politics."

The Character that Achieves Success

The New York "World" publishes an interesting and valuable interview with Theodore N. Vail, who is the head of the Bell Telephone and Western Union Telegraph systems. With Mr. Vail's taking the headship of the Western Union Telegraph system the spirit of that system has been radically changed, and the feeling of hostility to the Western Union Telegraph Company is rapidly disappearing. He has evidently set himself to work to make the telegraph minister to the needs of the American people. He has made connections with the telephone and the telegraph such as facilitate the sending of telegrams from any telephone station —and telephone stations are far more frequent than telegraph stations. He has arranged so that men who have acknowledged credit can send telegraph messages "collect." And he has created the system of Day Letter and Night Letter, which has immensely enlarged the practical value of the telegraph, making it a real means for the conduct of quick correspondence. In this interview he tells three things which a great many Americans wish to know. The first is what are the qualities which enable a man to earn a salary of from $10,000 to $25,000 a year. He "must, first of all, know his business from the ground up. He must be absolutely efficient; that is, he must have ability, judgment, courage, enthusiasm, self-confidence, energy, initiative, foresight, experience, a great knowledge of human nature, and personality enough to be a real leader of men. He must take infinite pains in small things as well as in large. He must demand of himself as well as of others nothing but the best." It is true that society does not pay the highest price for the best service. It pays more to many a hotel chef than it pays to most college presidents, although giving luxurious food is not a greater service than giving a fine education. But in each particular department of life society pays for the service rendered in fair proportion to the value of the service, as society estimates it. Men with the qualities described by Mr. Vail find plenty to do, and fair, if not great, remuneration for the doing, in whatever department of life they may choose their work.

Cost of Living and Big Business

Mr. Vail also points out one cause of high living: "The cost of living is high, but it has not increased more than the standard of living has. . . . People to-day insist upon elevators, tiled bath-rooms, dumb-waiters, telephones, electric light, gas, hot water, etc., all of which add very greatly to

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the cost of construction and to the rent. People are far too apt to forget that it is not the tiled bath-room that keeps you clean; it is soap and water." We have come into an era of high living, and we must pay high prices for it. We must cut off useless and enervating luxuries, of course, but not the comforts which add both to the joy and the efficiency of life; and the comforts which add both to the joy and efficiency of living cost somebody service, and therefore cost money to remunerate for that service. What is far more important than finding out how to reduce the cost of living is finding out how so to equalize wealth that the very rich shall lose the luxuries which enervate and degrade them, and the common people shall have the means to pay for the comforts which add joy and efficiency to life. Mr. Vail's third statement goes to the root of the question, Shall government disorganize big business, regulate big business, or carry on big business? The individualist says government should disorganize big business; the Progressive says government should regulate big business; the Socialist says government should carry on big business. Mr. Vail's position, which is the position of an increasing number of the great captains of industry, the great leaders of labor, and the great teachers of political economy, is summed up in the following paragraph:

> No government can run business, and no business can run the government. Our form of government was never intended to run business; it was not cut out for that; its organization is different. It is the duty of the government to conserve our rights and privileges, and to see that we all enjoy them. That applies to the rich as well as to the poor, and to the strong as well as to the weak. This duty of conservation gives the government the right to regulate business, and I want to say that it is far easier to regulate business than to run it. Take the men who are looked upon as great captains of industry. There are very few of them, because there are very few men who can run a big business or a big corporation. But there are any quantity of men who could review their acts, and who—if they had the proper information and gave the question proper examination and study—could say whether or not the men who were doing things were doing them right.

In this paragraph Mr. Vail answers with remarkable brevity and terseness the principal objection to the proposition that government should regulate big business, and we recommend the paragraph to the studious consideration of our Senators and Representatives and all campaign orators in the pending Presidential election.

The Alleged Russo-Japanese Alliance

A little more than a year ago — in April, 1911 — certain American newspapers gave wide circulation to the positive statement that Japan and Mexico had entered into a secret treaty hostile to the interests of the United States, and that a photographic copy of such treaty was in the possession of our Government. A little more than a week ago—in August, 1912—the same newspapers published an equally positive statement that Japan and Russia had entered into a secret agreement to oppose the aims and undermine the interests of the other Powers in eastern Asia, and, eventually, to intervene jointly in China for the purpose of strengthening their positions in Manchuria and Mongolia and securing, as far as possible, Russo-Japanese control in Far Eastern affairs. The secret Japanese-Mexican treaty of 1911 proved to be non-existent. No such treaty had ever been made, and the story of the photographic copy of it was a fake. There is good reason to believe that the alleged secret Russo-Japanese agreement of 1912 is also non-existent, and that the story of the negotiation of it by Prince Katsura and Premier Kokovtsef is either a fake or a flimsy tissue of unsupported assertions and plausible guesses woven about the solitary fact that the ex-Premier of Japan stopped in St. Petersburg in July, on his way to Germany and western Europe. An alliance of Russia and Japan for the attainment of the objects set forth in the story of their secret agreement seems improbable. In the first place, their alleged conspiracy to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia, crowd out the other Powers, and dominate China is in flagrant violation of at least half a dozen treaties, agreements, understandings, and declarations, beginning with the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, and ending with the statements of policy by the Russian and Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs in 1911 and 1912. Both Governments have bound themselves not to intervene in China without previous consultation with the other interested Powers (Japanese declaration of November 30, 1908, and Russian reply to Secretary Knox in January, 1910), and both have repeatedly committed themselves to the policy of equal opportunities and the

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open door. Of course either Power may break its promises, violate its agreements, and disregard its treaty obligations; but is Russia likely to do so? Certainly we do not expect Japan to dishonor herself in that way. The alleged statements of Prince Katsura and Baron Goto, which the story puts in quotation marks, are manifestly faked, because they are inconsistent with the opinions of Prince Katsura as set forth in the authorized Imbrie interview, and are in violation of the principles laid down in the Root-Takahira Declaration of November 30, 1908.

The Russo-Japanese Treaty

The latest existent agreement between Japan and Russia with regard to their interests in China is embodied in the Russo-Japanese treaty of July 4, 1910. That treaty assumes that, inasmuch as Japan and Russia have covenants with China to which the other Powers are not parties, they (Japan and Russia) have certain treaty rights in Manchuria to which the other Powers are not entitled—rights that are peculiarly their own. Such rights are not exclusive of the rights of other Powers, but are outside of them. They are rights which Russia and Japan have acquired by treaty, at the cost of treasure and blood. In defense of these rights, which they regard as distinctively their own, Japan and Russia agree to act together, so far as they can do so without violating the promises that they have made to the other Powers concerning equal opportunities and the open door. Japan has made nine treaties with China since the Russo-Japanese War, eight of them relating to Manchuria; and Russia has made seven treaties with the same Power since 1896, six of them relating to Manchuria. These treaties, for the most part, deal with railway administration and business enterprise in the strip of leased territory through which the railways run. As the interests of the two Powers in this strip are practically identical, they naturally stand together in defense of them. They have certain rights there which we have not, just as we have certain rights in Cuba which the other Powers have not; and when an attempt is made to infringe such rights, they stand together in opposition to it, as they did in the case of the proposal to neutralize the Manchurian railways, which was made by Secretary Knox in 1909. This probably is the only basis of fact that the story of a secret Russo-Japanese agreement has. The treaty of July 4, 1910, was not aimed at the other Powers, so far as we know, nor was any objection made to it either by the other Powers or by China herself. In reply to a note from the representatives of Russia and Japan transmitting a copy of the convention, the Chinese Foreign Office said:

> This Ministry is perfectly satisfied that, inasmuch as Russia and Japan bind themselves by this agreement to respect the various treaties that now exist between China and Russia, China and Japan, and Russia and Japan, said agreement is a new and solemn confirmation of the promise made by Russia and Japan, in the treaty of 1905, to recognize the sovereignty of China in Manchuria; to acknowledge the equal right of the foreign Powers to co-operate with China in the development of Manchurian trade and industry; and to maintain the principle of the open door.

Reports that Russia and Japan are seeking to oust the other Powers and secure for themselves the hegemony of the Far East will probably continue to circulate so long as there is money to be made by the promotion of international discord and the creation of war scares; but the authors of such reports should try to improve their literary methods. The story of the secret Russo-Japanese agreement of 1912 is no more plausible or convincing than the story of the secret Japanese-Mexican treaty which was said to have been photographed by Ambassador Wilson in 1911.

The Roman Catholic Opportunity in Peru

The region in Peru between the Putumayo and Japura Rivers, affluents of the Amazon, consists of thousands of square miles of thick forest. It is inhabited by scattered tribes of Indians. Apart from these the only population consists of the employees of a concern engaged in overseeing and forcing the Indians to collect and deliver at fixed intervals definite quantities of rubber derived from the wild rubber trees scattered through the forest. The Indians are practically slaves. The region is controlled principally by the Aranas, a Peruvian family, who, five years ago, turned their rubber purchasing concern into a British company, now called the Peruvian Amazon Company, Limited. Attention was drawn to the operations of this company some years ago by a series of articles in the London "Truth." As the result of pressure from the British Foreign Office, the company entered upon its own

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investigation, while the British Government itself despatched Sir Roger Casement to make an official investigation. The Outlook has already reported the result of Sir Roger's mission—a story of horrible cruelty, oppression, and outrage. In the greedy rush for rubber the wretched Indians have not only been oppressed while they lived, but their lives have ultimately been taken, so that of some fifty thousand Indians said to be dwelling in the region early in the century, only one-fifth of that number are now admitted to exist. It is true that many have fled; but it is also claimed that thousands have been slaughtered. Despite denials to the contrary, there are indications that practically nothing is being done to improve the lot of the Indians in the Putumayo country. During the first half of the present year rubber has been collected in greater quantities than ever before; under present conditions every pound of rubber means torture of helpless people. Their condition should, and must, be immediately changed. Peru, it is true, claims to be instituting a new régime of reform and civilization. But against this claim it is urged that she has neither the administrative capacity, the power, nor the money. However much the Church in Peru may wish to engage in reform, it is also too poor to do so. But, in order to be most effective in a Latin-American land, humanitarian effort should have, if possible, a religious character; and as Peru recognizes the Roman Catholic Church only, any mission to be really efficient should operate under its auspices. While the natives are as yet in no state for distinctly religious propaganda, Sir Roger Casement declares that any mission should have the authority of the national and historical Church of Peru behind it. Sir Roger adds:

> Neither the individual Peruvian nor his Government will recognize Protestant intervention as a legitimate religious act. It would be represented by those on the spot as a meddlesome act of foreign interference in their private concerns, which they would not tolerate. . . . A Protestant organization on the Putumayo would be the cause of much resentment, bad feeling, and a quite definitely organized opposition that would inevitably defeat the object it had in view, namely, the protection and the betterment of the Indians. . . . I feel that this is a case where it is imperative on humane men and women to do something to help the Indians, and I see no means of bringing help to them that can at all compare with those offered by a Roman Catholic mission. . . . The work, as it is, will be one of extreme difficulty for the one Church that can operate with least question or opposition. . . . That the Church of Rome . . . is in the best position to accomplish this work I am profoundly convinced, and, were I ten times a Protestant, I should never hesitate to help its missionaries to the extent of my ability to set up a rule of charity, compassion, and kindliness—a task they are eminently qualified to fulfill—among the unhappy tribes of this region. To help these poor people is a matter of urgency. It is not a matter that can be put off or discussed to-morrow. . . . It is a thing that must be done, or at any rate attempted, to-day.

The Lawn Tennis Championship

For at least three reasons, the result of the American All Comers' Lawn Tennis Championship Tournament this year is especially interesting to followers of that exhilarating sport. In the first place, the championship passes from the hands of a veteran to that of a youthful player. Mr. W. A. Larned won the championship last year for the seventh time. For about a score of years he has been in the front rank of lawn tennis players in this country. This year the title has been won for the first time by Maurice E. McLoughlin, who was born only twenty-two years ago. In other words, last year's champion was a skillful lawn tennis player when this year's champion was born. In the second place, the method of determining the championship has been changed. Heretofore the practice has been each year for the winner of the previous year's championship match to have the privilege of standing one side until the winner of the All Comers' Tournament was determined, and then to be called on to defend his title. From now on the champion of each year, if he wishes to retain his title, must enter the tournament like any other aspirant for the honor. This year Mr. Larned, on account of illness, was unable to play through the tournament. In the third place, this year's championship was notable from the fact that it goes for the first time to the Pacific Coast. With it goes the championship also of the ladies' singles and of the men's doubles. California has made a clean sweep of the National lawn tennis field.

Immigrants and Bibles

In the chief inspection room at Ellis Island, the immigrant station for the port of New York, the old high iron network that separated each row of immigrants has been removed. Seats are provided for the immigrants while waiting their turn to appear before the inspectors. After the immigrants

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have passed their inspection two missionaries of the New York Bible Society supply those admitted with Bibles, and carry copies to those who may be detained. During the past year there was the largest distribution of the Scriptures among the immigrants by these missionaries. The Society distributes the Scriptures in forty languages and in raised type to the blind. In addition, the Society employs missionaries to visit the steamships, schooners, barks, barges, and canal-boats in port, and to distribute the Bible among all classes of men employed. During the past three months a thousand vessels were thus visited, and the Scriptures given to many times that number of men. In addition, the Society supplies the Bible to attendants at the many outdoor meetings held in New York City every summer, not only for those who speak English, but for the Italians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Greeks, Poles, and Chinese. Again, many Bibles are distributed by missionaries who visit the prisons in New York City; it may be remembered that in the Borough of Manhattan there are annually over eighty thousand persons in prison cells, and over ten thousand persons constantly in the institutions on Blackwell's Island. The New York Bible Society is the only society having for its sole work Bible distribution in the city and harbor of New York.

A Students' Congress of the Two Americas

A significant event is the International Students' Congress, which has just finished its sessions at the oldest American university. That institution is not Harvard University, but San Marcos University at Lima, the capital of Peru. The university was founded in 1551 by grant of the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome. This antedates the founding of Harvard University in 1636 by nearly a century, and takes scholastic traditions in the New World back almost to the beginning of modern times. The Royal and Pontifical University of San Marcos, from which the present progressive San Marcos has been developed, embraced at its beginning little, if anything, more than the curriculum of the Middle Ages, when Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, and the theologians preceding the days of the Inquisition were thought to embody all the learning and science necessary for the higher orders of the community, whose education alone was provided for. San Marcos, therefore, in its beginning was decidedly aristocratic as to its students and ecclesiastical in its training, though now one of the foremost and most progressive of South American universities. It has faculties of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, political science, and literature. The Students' Congress just held within its historic halls was the third in the international series of such Congresses. From them good should come in an interchange of thought and ideas between the two Americas, and so in preparing the way for the new era in intercourse which will begin when the Panama Canal is thrown open to the commerce of the world. Among the American universities that participated in the Congress were the Howard University of Washington, D. C., the Leland Stanford University in California, the University of California, and the Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan. It is a hopeful and auspicious sign when our universities are the first to recognize what the opening of the Panama Canal will mean in the domain of education to the two Americas. At the recent session of representative British universities in London, Lord Rosebery, Chancellor of the London University, forecasting troubled times and new relations throughout the world, remarked that it was to the universities of the Empire that the country looked for guidance and leading. The fact that in the United States at present three men, the graduates respectively of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, are the leaders of political thought and political parties, also points in the same direction. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Congress at the University of San Marcos will be efficient in promoting a better understanding and knowledge, not only between South American and North American universities, but also between the people of the two Americas, whose relations, for better or worse, must be more intimately related in the near future than heretofore.

The Public and the Public Schools

The fact that the system of common schools in the United States—the greatest single educational institution that civilization has ever seen—is popularly called the public school system is not at all a guarantee that the public takes the active interest in these schools which it should. Large numbers of citizens, even large numbers of parents whose children are pupils of the

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public schools, have very little intimate knowledge as to their administration. It is a common and just complaint of public school teachers and principals that the parents of their pupils show so little interest in the operations of the public school. There has existed in the city of New York for a number of years a voluntary association called the Public Education Association, the purpose of which is "to study the problems of public education, investigate the condition of the common and corporate schools, stimulate public interest in the schools, and to propose from time to time such changes in their organization, management, or educational method as may seem necessary or desirable." This excellent Association has recently been reorganized for the purpose of making its work more effective. On a money basis alone such an organization is highly desirable, for the city of New York spends on its public schools the enormous sum of $35,000,000 a year. The Association in its reorganized form hopes to become a sort of clearing-house for current educational ideas. Its general object will be:

To obtain the ideas and suggestions of the teachers and school administrators themselves, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of citizens and organizations outside of, but interested in, the schools.

To make available the results of the experience of other cities.

To provide for the numerous citizen organizations interested in education a means of co-operation by which their efforts will be economized and made more effective.

To provide a simple and direct channel by which the Department of Education may utilize the suggestions and data furnished by the other agencies.

In carrying out this programme the Association will do systematic work with the aid of a competent staff of experts. It will classify the facts which it obtains, and will supply the information in its possession to all those who are interested in the problems of the public school. It is estimated that the annual expenditure of the Association will be about $45,000. We call attention to its purposes and programme for two reasons: first, to bespeak for it the financial and moral support of those who recognize the fact that the public school is the corner-stone of American education; and, second, to advise those who are dealing with similar problems in other parts of the country to co-operate with it. Inquiries for further information may be addressed to the Executive Secretary of the Association, Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

The Use of Intoxicants by Railway Employees

The management of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western system has issued a general order which deserves chronicling. It will be appreciated, we think, by all railway travelers. Its most discussed clause refers to the use of liquor by employees. One of the American Railway Association's rules, adopted by most of the railways of the country, reads as follows:

The use of intoxicants by employees while on duty is prohibited. Their habitual use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal.

It is a good rule that prohibits the use of intoxicants altogether while employees are on duty. And it is also a good rule that prohibits their habitual use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, at any time. But we are glad that the Lackawanna Company at least is now going a step further and will prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors to employees directly connected with the movements of trains at *all* times. The principle of action on American railways generally is still that, so long as men avoid the habitual use of liquors when off duty, and abstain entirely when on duty, they are reasonably safe. There is, however, but one absolutely safe course to be followed by these classes of men; and that is the extreme course which the Lackawanna Company has now wisely ordered. The Company may be criticised for interfering with personal liberty, but, in view of the great risks involved in railway transportation, public sentiment will, we believe, support its position. Its new general order reads as follows:

In furtherance of the objects of the several Federal and State "hours of service" laws, employees in engine, train, yard, and station service are prohibited from using their time while off duty in a manner that may unfit them for the safe, prompt, and efficient performance of their respective duties for the Company. They are strictly enjoined and required to use their time while off duty primarily for obtaining ample rest. The use of intoxicants while on or off duty, or the visiting of saloons or places where liquor is sold, incapacitates men for railroad service, and is absolutely prohibited. Any violation of this rule by employees in engine, train, yard, or station service will be sufficient cause for dismissal.

Though it has not attracted nearly as much public attention, the first part of the new rule is, we are convinced, quite as important

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as the second. There are many other forms of dissipation besides drinking which tend to unfit men for their duties. Where the safety of hundreds of passengers is absolutely dependent upon an engineer's alertness, it is certainly essential that he should come to his work refreshed by abundant sleep and in full possession of all his physical and mental faculties. While Federal and State laws require railway companies to give their men sufficient time for rest at stated intervals, something further is requisite if the opportunity those laws afford is to be rightly used. The public welfare, as well as the welfare of the men, requires that the time allowed by law for rest should be reasonably well spent, and to this end moral pressure exerted by the companies and, better yet, by the men themselves, is in the public interest.

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT AT WORK

Mr. Archbold, of the Standard Oil Company, and Mr. Penrose, Republican Senator from Pennsylvania, with the aid of Democratic Senators, including Messrs. Stone and Bailey, have rendered a service of signal value to the American people. They have been giving to the people a glimpse of the "Invisible Government" at work.

This is the Invisible Government—it was described in Mr. Beveridge's speech at the Progressive Convention:

> The special interests which suck the people's substance are bipartisan. They use both parties. They are the invisible government behind our visible government. Democratic and Republican bosses alike are brother officers of this hidden power. No matter how fiercely they pretend to fight one another before election, they work together after election. And, acting so, this political conspiracy is able to delay, mutilate, or defeat sound and needed laws for the people's welfare and the prosperity of honest business, and even to enact bad laws, hurtful to the people's welfare and oppressive to honest business.

Such is the Invisible Government as described in general terms; but what evidence is there that it exists? It is a "hidden power." How can it be revealed? This is where Messrs. Archbold, Penrose, Stone, and their allies enter and give their testimony. They are benefactors of the Nation; for at the very moment when the people are most ready to listen they have given an answer.

Mr. Archbold represents a special interest whose methods have been described by the United States Supreme Court in terms severer than any we should care to use. Mr. Penrose is the head of a political machine whose power has been unsurpassed in the history of any boss-ruled State. These two men have acknowledged that they were participants—one as giver, the other as receiver, of money—in a transaction the object of which was to protect this special interest from molestation by the Government; and they both acknowledge that Mr. Archbold's special interest was at the time of this transaction under investigation by a commission of which Mr. Penrose was a member!

Why have they made such a confession? Because they did not realize it was a confession until they had made it. They thought it was an attack upon a common enemy. And running to their assistance in this attack have come Messrs. Stone and Bailey and other Democratic Senators. It is a strange and instructive spectacle to see these members of the tripartite Invisible Government grouping themselves naturally against the Progressives.

They seem to have forgotten for the moment that the strength of the Invisible Government depends upon its remaining invisible.

This "hidden power" will cease to be a power when it ceases to be hidden.

Messrs. Archbold, Penrose, Bailey, and Company, with their supporters among the subsidized press, have been public benefactors in bringing the operations of the Invisible Government, if only for a moment, into the public view.

THE USES OF REPARTEE

Mr. Brander Matthews's happy definition and illustration of "The Art of Repartee" in the August number of the "Century Magazine" admit of almost indefinite expansion. It is not beside the mark to say that Mr. Matthews himself has often furnished admirable examples of the retort courteous which is also the retort entertaining. The repartee is not always the kind of answer that turneth away wrath, but it is generally the kind of answer that makes conversation interesting. Talleyrand, from whom Mr. Matthews draws some "fetching" examples of this art of verbal fencing, was one of its greatest practitioners, but he was not a solitary master of the verbal rapier; he was surrounded by

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experts. For the repartee is an art fostered by a highly organized or highly artificial social life. The French, who have developed with exceptional success what Matthew Arnold called the power of social life, have made conversation one of the great resources of that life. They have not been content simply to talk; they have learned to converse, which is talk raised to the rank of a fine art.

Any person of average quickness of mind can talk, and many are able to talk without any intellectual qualification; but conversation involves restraint, fair play in the matter of time, the courtesy of attention, and skill in the use of words. Many talkers use the bludgeon; the conversationists use the rapier. The talker may be, and often is, a barbarian surviving from the age of brute force; a conversationist is the product of a high degree of civilization, a person whose mind has been ripened by contact with other minds, and who has responded to the touch of that happy genius of respect for one another which is the source of good manners. The repartee often has the edge of a Damascus blade; it never has the mass or shape of an Indian club. When Dumas, who was a master of wit as well as of the art of writing the romance of adventure, was asked by a lady how he grew old so gracefully, he made the inimitable answer: "Madame, I give all my time to it!" This has a very different quality from the remark of a Member of Congress whom Speaker Reed had finally forced into his seat: "I thank Heaven I don't look like a gigantic rubber baby blown up by a cyclone!" The provocation was great and the retort had an elementary effectiveness, but it was war, not art. Mr. Reed was a czar in speech as well as in parliamentary methods, and had a natural gift for putting things. When a recalcitrant Member was forced, after a fierce struggle, to yield the floor, he tried to take the edge off defeat by repeating *sotto voce* the well-worn phrase, "I would rather be right than be President." The Speaker promptly retorted, "The gentleman need not trouble himself; he will never be either," and went on with the business before the House.

The campaign orator is sometimes sorely discomfited by a really insignificant foe who happens to put an embarrassing question to which a quick and convincing reply is not at hand. Such questions are, however, the happy opportunities of men of rapid mental action whose replies have the quality of the repartee. The platform repartee is sometimes preceded by a condensed argument. During the campaign in which the resumption of specie payments was an issue Mr. Blaine was urging on an audience in a Maine city the wisdom and practicability of Greeley's maxim, "The way to resume is to resume." He declared that the time had come and the Government was ready; it had a hundred millions in gold in the treasury. "But," said a man in the audience, "there are five hundred million greenbacks out, are there not?"

"Yes," was the prompt reply.

"Those greenbacks are all payable in gold on presentation, are they not?"

"Certainly."

"Suppose they should all be presented at once?"

"Will the gentleman allow me to ask him two or three questions? How many people are there in this city?"

"About forty thousand."

"They must all die."

"Certainly."

"Are there forty thousand coffins ready at the undertakers' this evening?"

In this case the repartee required a little clearing of the way, but when it came it ended the discussion. The wife of a well-known public man was once presented to Mr. Blaine at a reception. She had only a few words with him and passed on, and did not meet him again for several years. She is a woman of charming personality and of unusual height. At the second interview Mr. Blaine held out his hand with great cordiality and promptly called her by name. "Is it possible that you remember me, Mr. Blaine?"

"There are people whom one never forgets," was the reply.

"Yes," responded the lady; "my unusual height makes me conspicuous."

"There are other altitudes than physical height," retorted the gallant statesman.

There have been not only witty statesmen but witty kings: Charles the Second was one of them. When some one praised Lord Godolphin, a very successful courtier and politician, he promptly replied, "Godolphin is never in the way and never out of it;" a description of the time-serving politician as complete as it is brief. And when, in a time of great popular excitement, he was riding home from a review with his brother the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second,

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beside him, and James warned him not to expose himself more than was necessary, the King replied, "James, they will never kill me to make you King."

Napoleon the Third wore a mask of impassivity, and either was or seemed to be a man of sluggish mental activity, but at times he showed traces of French wit. His cousin, Prince Napoleon, commonly known as "Plon-Plon," was a spendthrift who was always in need of money, and sometimes made his Imperial cousin's life a burden by his importunities. On one occasion, after trying vainly to extort five hundred thousand francs from the Emperor, he cried out, "You have nothing of our uncle about you!" "Oh, yes, I have," was the quick retort; "I have his family."

The art of repartee is largely a matter of cultivation, though there are many to whom it would be impossible of acquirement under the most favorable conditions; for there are men who could live in a world of humor and never understand the verbal flash and stir about them. But given a group of quick-witted people who are in the habit of meeting one another on easy terms, or a society which has both leisure and brains and uses one to give finish and edge to the other, and the quick return of the ball becomes a kind of second nature. Many forms of expression which seem to be the exclusive possession of a few are largely matters of general habit. The older improvisers, who could turn an incident into a ballad at sight, seem to men of a later generation born poets, while, as a matter of fact, they were facile users of current forms of expression. The habit, not of writing poetry, but of rhyming, is easily acquired if it happens to be the habit of the time. Even in a dull company "capping verses" loosens tongues which have always run to prose.

The art of repartee demands more than the ability to rhyme or to make a passable oration; it demands at least a modicum of brains and the ability to use them quickly. There are few Talleyrands or Sheridans, but one need not be a past-master of fencing to put up a good guard, and the repartee, while more a weapon of attack, is a very convenient weapon of defense. When Mr. Lowell was complimented on his manners by a lady of fashion in London, who expressed surprise that an American should be so well bred, he promptly replied, with mock deference: "You forget, madam, how favorably I have been exposed; I have been long in London." She probably did not understand, but the thrust must have given the primitive man in Lowell the satisfaction of having given a neat rapier stroke. And the American girl who met the remark of a lady in the same city that she could see "no reason why you Americans seem to think so much of your own country," with the retort, "I suppose it must be because we have seen some of the other countries," deserves the place Mr. Matthews makes for her well-put answer. He might well have added the repartee of another American who, in answer to the remark, "It must be very disagreeable to live in a country whose rulers you are not willing to invite to dine with you," promptly replied: "It is; but it's less disagreeable than living in a country whose rulers are not willing to ask you to dine with them." The international uses of the repartee are many, and happy examples of the art are found everywhere. One of the neatest was the retort of the Englishman to the Viennese who commented on the awkwardness with which many English people speak foreign languages: "You see, we have not had half the armies of Europe here to teach us."

CAPITALISM, PROGRESSIVISM, SOCIALISM

Any one who is inclined to imagine that Socialism and Progressivism are akin is recommended to read two new books, one by a Socialist, "Socialism As It Is,"[1] by W. E. Walling, the other, "The New Democracy,"[2] by Walter E. Weyl.

There is one opinion, and only one, which Progressivism and Socialism hold in common. They believe that social conditions to-day are not right; that there are too many excessively rich men and far too many poor men in the community; that we have not solved, and hardly have begun to study, the problem how to distribute wealth; that the rising discontent is not due to demagogues, nor is it a discontent with conditions which must in the nature of the case exist; that it is real and well grounded, and is due to conditions which ought to be corrected; that

[1] Socialism As It Is: A Survey of the World-Wide Revolutionary Movement. By William English Walling. The Macmillan Company, New York.

[2] The New Democracy: An Essay on Certain Political and Economic Tendencies in the United States. By Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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there are real evils, and that they can be remedied.

But the remedy proposed by Progressives and the remedy proposed by Socialists are not the same; they are not merely inconsistent, they are directly and emphatically antagonistic. The greatest foe to Socialism is not Conservatism, it is Progressivism.

Mr. Walling points out with great clearness, in his chapter on "Socialism and the Class Struggle," the essential spirit of Socialism: "The Socialist view of the evolution of society is that the central fact of history is this struggle of classes for political and economic power." This class struggle becomes more bitter the longer it lasts. It is "not a mere theory, but a widely recognized reality." "No indorsement of any so-called Socialist theory of reform is of practical moment unless it includes that theory which has survived out of the struggles of the movement and has been tested by hard experience—a theory in which ways and means are not the last but the first consideration—namely, the class struggle." Because Theodore Roosevelt and Lyman Abbott do not believe that this class struggle is to go on and that peace is to come only by the victory of one class over the other, they are taken by Mr. Walling as types of the men whose teaching Socialism most emphatically resists. "Without this militant attitude Socialists believe that even the most radical reforms, not excepting those that sincerely propose equal opportunity or the abolition of social classes as their ultimate aim, must fail to carry society forward a single step in that direction. Take as an example Dr. Lyman Abbott. . . . Notwithstanding his advocacy of industrial democracy, his attack on the autocracy of capitalism and the wages system, and his insistence that the distinction between non-possessing and possessing classes must be abolished, Dr. Abbott opposes a class struggle." So again: "Said Mr. Roosevelt in his Sorbonne lecture: '. . . Ruin looks us in the face if we judge a man by his position instead of judging him by his conduct in that position.'" To this Mr. Walling replies: "Ruin looks us in the face if, in politics, we judge the men who occupy a certain position (the members of a certain class) by their conduct as individuals, instead of judging them by the fact that they occupy a certain position and are members of a certain class."

In brief, Socialists hold that there is a certain amount of wealth in the world. It is now largely in the control of one class. They desire to league together the other of the two classes to get possession of that wealth for themselves. The two classes are like two gamblers at the gaming-tabe, each trying to get the stakes away from the other.

Mr. Weyl approaches the same problem from the point of view of the Progressive. He repudiates emphatically the notion that peace can come only through a class war carried on to its consummation. It will come through the recognition of the fact that modern industry creates a social surplus; that the prosperous community creates more than it consumes; and that, to remain prosperous and peaceful, it must learn how this surplus wealth can be justly, equably, honestly administered. It is because in America this social surplus has increased so rapidly, and because in America the distribution of this social surplus has, in spite of the creation of multi-millionaires, been carried further than in the Old World, that Socialism makes little headway here, and would make none at all if it were not increased by immigration. "In America the old doctrine of a class war between two classes must of absolute necessity be given up by the Socialist party, and must fail of adoption by other parties." "Democratic civilization will progress even more through adjustment and education than through the war which aids one class and injures another. Political power in the State will not change from one class to its opponent, like a reversible top or an overweighted balance, for the State is not and will not be absolutely the representative of a single class." In the early centuries of Christianity slavery was abolished, not as the result of war, but as the result of education. The slaves grew into too large a manhood to be kept in slavery. The slave-owners grew into too large a manhood to be willing to keep them in slavery. Both capitalist and laborer are going, in America, through a similar process of education. "Capitalism develops elasticity. Instead of dying of its own excesses, it shows wonderful recuperative and self-reforming power. Class hatred softens as the working classes strengthen, and the impending clash between the classes is always delayed. The absolute Socialist cries, 'War, War!' when there is no war." Mr. Weyl believes, and his book gives abundant justification for his belief, that the remedy for the present unrest is neither, on the

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one hand, leaving things as they are, nor, on the other hand, a class war to destroy the old conditions, in order to create new conditions. "The old *laissez-faire* liberal philosophy is done for, and the old absolute Socialism is dying in the embrace of its dead adversary. To-day even Conservatives unhesitatingly accept reforms which, a generation ago, would have been decried as Socialistic, while Socialists in good party standing propose alliances, concessions, and palliatives which would formerly have been called (and by the crassly logical are still called) subversive of Socialistic doctrine and inimical to the emancipation of the proletariat."

The essence of the old Socialism is class war, and the capitalist who is making war on organized labor is really the ally of the Socialist who is making war upon organized capital. For both are making war upon society. The real remedy for the social war, and the evil conditions out of which that war has grown, is the recognition that tool-owners and tool-users are partners, and a readjustment of their relationship in terms of a partnership, which will include participation in profits and participation in the control of their united industry.

Capitalism, Progressivism, Socialism—which shall it be?

TWO DAUGHTERS OF MERCY

We hear much nowadays about the limitations on woman's activity. It is therefore worth while to point out what two women did who have just passed away: Octavia Hill in London, and Ellen Collins in New York.

Octavia Hill was one of the first, if not the first, to start the housing reform movement in London. Born in the thirties, she gave herself, with all her heart, when still young, to what was to become her life-work—helping the poor. At that time Frederick Denison Maurice was at the head of those who were actively so engaged, and Octavia Hill became one of the workers who acted under that brilliant man's leadership.

The girl's experience taught her two things. The first was that which must come to every settlement worker—not to follow one's generous heart unchecked, but so to sharpen the intelligence as to control any natural excess of emotion aroused by the sight of distress; for only as head operates equally with heart may the poor be helped and not pauperized. The second thing the girl learned was that the poor could not be helped at all except as their dwellings and other surroundings were bettered.

With these two convictions firmly in mind, Octavia Hill set out to work "on her own hook" and on her own special line of action, namely, to rid the poor of some of the rapacious landlords. But her endeavor was to be no charitable endeavor, as the word charity was then understood. She sternly ruled out any gifts of money to the poor, and, what was more, in the rent-collecting upon which she entered, there was to be an immediate notice to quit if a tenant failed to pay. Miss Hill did not try at first to collect rents for others. Fortunately, she was able to borrow £3,000 ($15,000) from a friend—no less a personage than John Ruskin—who, to his lasting credit, had entered heartily into her scheme. She took over the unexpired term of the lease of three houses, fairly well built dwellings, but deplorably dirty and neglected. First of all, she repaired and cleaned these dwellings. And then she charged a rent to bring a return not exceeding five per cent on the capital invested. As soon as her tenants began to enjoy the blessings of cleanliness and of abundant air, light, and water, it became easier for them to learn to be punctual in meeting the moderate rents asked, and rarely did they fail when pay day came round.

The success of this scheme now assured, Miss Hill branched forth into another, and, in our opinion, a necessary corollary of proper housing—a playground. To this end she bought six squalid houses, crowded with inmates and facing a bit of desolate ground occupied by dilapidated cow-sheds and manure-heaps. Here again John Ruskin's name was associated with Octavia Hill's. While the houses were being cleaned and repaired they had the ground cleared and trees planted, and they arranged with welfare workers to teach the children games and sports. Thus were provided also "outdoor sitting-rooms for the weary housewife," as Miss Hill once described them. The second scheme was, of course, even more successful than the first. It led to large results, for Octavia Hill promptly organized the Commons Preservation Society to preserve and provide open spaces and playgrounds for the city people; indeed, to her activity in raising a fund of $1,500,000 London owes the preservation of a great part of

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Hampstead Heath from private encroachment.

As time went on, and as other blocks of houses came under Miss Hill's management, a third feature was added. She had already provided for better houses and for more space; but when Ruskin planted creepers by the walls of some of her dwellings, he immediately suggested the idea of "bringing beauty home to the poor." Accordingly she formed the Kyrle Society, to bring beauty by whatever means—by the decoration of houses, by flowers, by the cultivation of a taste for music, or painting, or literature. To this end she built at the back of her own house a large room where she could meet her tenants for the purpose of talk or entertainment.

Her tenants themselves did not fail to appreciate, as such people always will appreciate, Octavia Hill's combination of the qualities that also distinguished the late General Booth—an equal amount of shrewdness and sympathy. As such, her counsel was vital to the success of the London Charity Organization Society, the establishment of which was due to her more than to any other single agency, and to the famous Women's University Settlement in Blackfriars Road, whose members have co-operated with Miss Hill in "working" a dozen streets of houses in Southwark. Seven years ago Miss Hill was deservedly appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, for she and her associates then had charge of nearly six thousand dwellings. Her books, "Homes of the London Poor" and "Our Common Land," show how eminently practical her work was. As such it should be enduring.

Almost at the same time there passed away in this country Ellen Collins, New York City's Octavia Hill. These two women were alike in the fact that, before any one else saw how bad housing underlies more of the mischief that is abroad in a great city than do most of its other causes, they saw and understood. What is more, they attacked the evil where few in their day had the courage, and fewer the will, to meet it. The American woman's efforts, however, began somewhat later than did the English woman's.

About a generation ago, three of the worst tenements in New York City were bought by Ellen Collins, who set about redeeming them and their tenants. Later she added three adjoining tenements. All had been filled with brothels and were the haunts of thieves. The whole neighborhood was the lowest in the city. It was characteristic of Miss Collins that she should have chosen to settle just there. In her small body lived a spirit of unconquerable faith in her fellow-men as children of God. She believed that, if given the chance to work out of their slough, they would quickly seize it. Fair play between landlord and tenant was her simple creed—the square deal—and it worked, as it always does when the profession is real.

The old tenements were dark and filthy. She let light into the hallways, and the piles of dirt by the sinks disappeared. She put sanitary plumbing in, and a janitor to see that her rules were obeyed. She broke the saloon-keeper's lease, and ever after, to her financial loss, refused to let him come back. The lewd women and the thieves took themselves off. A few of the worst tenants went with them. The rest stayed and came up to her every expectation. She made the rents as low as consistent with a business investment that was expected to return a fair interest. Before long her tenants planted flowers in the yard, and the flowers remained unmolested. The whole block became as orderly as any in the city. The houses ran themselves. With forty-five families in the building, it was never necessary to put up a "to let" sign.

The late W. Bayard Cutting, with his brother Fulton, built improved tenements a year or so after Miss Collins made her start. These were the beginnings of tenement-house reform in New York City.

Miss Collins sought out the worst of her kind, pinned her faith to them, and won. When she was getting old and tired, and planned to give up her personal management of the property she had redeemed, her tenants went to her in a body and begged her not to desert them, and she did not. In recent years she gave the mortgage she held to a young relative, who has taken over the fight with the powers of darkness, including the saloon-keeper, and is winning out too.

Miss Collins lived to be eighty-four years old. The last time she appeared in public print was when Tammany, in the Gaynor mayoralty campaign, lampooned her along with R. Fulton Cutting, Mr. Schiff, and others, for supporting the budget inquiry. They did not know—how should they?—that they were trying to heap ridicule on a woman who deserves to be set beside Josephine Shaw Lowell and Richard Watson Gilder as among

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New York City's most justly honored citizens.

It is often said that "the good die young." But here were two good women who lived to a great age. And the two greatest cities in the world are immeasurably better because in them those women lived and labored.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

A correspondent who has had an unusual opportunity to familiarize himself with governmental questions in various parts of the world takes issue with the following paragraph from a recent editorial article which appeared in The Outlook:

> The American Government should be a Government by the people, not by representatives of the people; representatives are selected, not to rule the people, but to carry out the will of the people.

"I am at a loss," says our correspondent, "to know how the people can run the Government and still have representatives. I can understand that representatives may misrepresent the people at times, but the remedy for this lies with the voters. You surely cannot expect 11,000,000 voters to give sufficient time from their busy, workaday lives to identify themselves individually with matters of legislation, and to enforce their will upon their representatives as each new issue comes up for discussion. You might as well ask the people to edit and manage The Outlook or 'The Encyclopædia Britannica,' or to manage the Steel Corporation. Government by representatives is the only practical expedient or means by which the people can rule themselves. If this method shall fail, then democracy fails with it. But it has not yet failed. I should be glad if The Outlook would tell us definitely how the people can deal successfully with the thousand and one questions of political reform and social justice, unless they delegate the power to legislate on these questions to their chosen representatives."

This letter represents admirably a very common confusion of thought regarding representative government. The Outlook certainly does not expect "the people to run the Government;" it does not expect that the people themselves will be able to manage successfully "the thousand and one questions of political reform and social justice." It does expect that they will delegate to their representatives the power to deal with details.

But here we part company with our correspondent. He apparently believes that ours is a Government by representatives; we consider it to be a Government by the people through representatives. Government should spring from the people as its source, and should be administered by the representatives to whom the people delegate the power to manage details.

The people determine whether there shall be a Panama Canal, whether it shall be as free as the ocean, or whether fees shall be charged to ships that pass through it. The representatives settle the engineering questions connected with its construction and the financial questions connected with the collection of those fees.

The people determine whether there shall be a Protective Tariff: the representatives manage the details of imposing and collecting that tariff.

The people determine whether there shall be an Income Tax; the representatives decide all the details connected with the administration of the Income Tax Law.

The people determine whether Senators shall be elected by the Legislature or by popular vote; the representatives of the people arrange the rules which shall govern the Senate when it is elected.

The people determine whether Presidents shall be nominated by a small committee or by direct primaries; the representatives devote themselves to seeing that the will of the people is carried out in this particular.

The great body of American voters to-day are what is called Progressive. Their will is that their Government shall be a Progressive Government.

The great political issue in this country to-day is whether the representatives of the people shall devote themselves to managing the details of great questions which are determined by the people, or whether the representatives shall decide the fundamental questions for the people. When representatives misrepresent the people, our correspondent is entirely right in saying that "the remedy for this lies with the voters." We are to-day actually seeing the process by which the voters remedy misrepresentation.

"Boss" government differs from popular government in one characteristic essential. The bosses believe that they, instead of the people, should determine the fundamental questions of government. It is for that reason that they are called by the people

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"bosses." When they cease to be "bosses," and sincerely and effectively endeavor to ascertain and to carry out the will of the people, it is then, and then only, that they become truly the representatives of the people.

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY [1]

COUNTRY LIFE AND CONSERVATION

EDITORIAL BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THERE is no body of our people whose interests are more inextricably interwoven with the interests of all the people than is the case with the farmers. The Country Life Commission should be revived with greatly increased powers; its abandonment was a severe blow to the interests of our people. The welfare of the farmer is a basic need of this Nation. It is the men from the farm who in the past have taken the lead in every great movement within this Nation, whether in time of war or in time of peace. It is well to have our cities prosper, but it is not well if they prosper at the expense of the country. I am glad to say that in many sections of our country there has been an extraordinary revival of recent years in intelligent interest in and work for those who live in the open country. In this movement the lead must be taken by the farmers themselves; but our people as a whole, through their governmental agencies, should back the farmers. Everything possible should be done to better the economic condition of the farmer, and also to increase the social value of the life of the farmer, the farmer's wife, and their children. The burdens of labor and loneliness bear heavily on the women in the country; their welfare should be the especial concern of all of us. Everything possible should be done to make life in the country profitable so as to be attractive from the economic standpoint and also to give an outlet among farming people for those forms of activity which now tend to make life in the cities especially desirable for ambitious men and women. There should be just the same chance to live as full, as well-rounded, and as highly useful lives in the country as in the city.

The Government must co-operate with the farmer to make the farm more productive. There must be no skinning of the soil. The farm should be left to the farmer's son in better, and not worse, condition because of its cultivation. Moreover, every invention and improvement, every discovery and economy, should be at the service of the farmer in the work of production; and, in addition, he should be helped to co-operate in business fashion with his fellows, so that the money paid by the consumer for the product of the soil shall to as large a degree as possible go into the pockets of the man who raised that product from the soil. So long as the farmer leaves co-operative activities with their profit-sharing to the city man of business, so long will the foundations of wealth be undermined and the comforts of enlightenment be impossible in the country communities. In every respect this Nation has to learn the lessons of efficiency in production and distribution, and of avoidance of waste and destruction; we must develop and improve instead of exhausting our resources. It is entirely possible by improvements in production, in the avoidance of waste, and in business methods on the part of the farmer to give him an increased income from his farm while at the same time reducing to the consumer the price of the articles raised on the farm. Important although education is everywhere, it has a special importance in the country. The country school must fit the country life; in the country, as elsewhere, education must be hitched up with life. The country church and the country Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations have great parts to play. The farmers must own and work their own land; steps must be taken at once to put a stop to the tendency towards absentee landlordism and tenant farming; this is one of the most imperative duties confronting the Nation. The question of rural banking and rural credits is also of immediate importance.

There can be no greater issue than that of Conservation in this country. Just as we must conserve our men, women, and children,

[1] In a series of editorials, of which this is one, Mr. Roosevelt is repeating in essence the statement of his political faith made before the Progressive Convention at Chicago.

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so we must conserve the resources of the land on which they live. We must conserve the soil so that our children shall have a land that is more and not less fertile than that our fathers dwelt in. We must conserve the forests, not by disuse but by use, making them more valuable at the same time that we use them. We must conserve the mines. Moreover, we must insure so far as possible the use of certain types of great natural resources for the benefit of the people as a whole. The public should not alienate its fee in the water power which will be of incalculable consequence as a source of power in the immediate future. The Nation and the States within their several spheres should by immediate legislation keep the fee of the water power, leasing its use only for a reasonable length of time on terms that will secure the interests of the public. Just as the Nation has gone into the work of irrigation in the West, so it should go into the work of helping reclaim the swamp lands of the South. We should undertake the complete development and control of the Mississippi as a National work, just as we have undertaken the work of building the Panama Canal. We can use the plant, and we can use the human experience, left free by the completion of the Panama Canal in so developing the Mississippi as to make it a mighty highroad of commerce, and a source of fructification and not of death to the rich and fertile lands lying along its lower length.

In the West, the forests, the grazing lands, the reserves of every kind, should be so handled as to be in the interests of the actual settler, the actual home-maker. He should be encouraged to use them at once, but in such a way as to preserve and not exhaust them. We do not intend that our natural resources shall be exploited by the few against the interests of the many, nor do we intend to turn them over to any man who will wastefully use them by destruction, and leave to those who come after us a heritage damaged by just so much. The man in whose interests we are working is the small farmer and settler, the man who works with his own hands, who is working not only for himself but for his children, and who wishes to leave to them the fruits of his labor. His permanent welfare is the prime factor for consideration in developing the policy of Conservation: for our aim is to preserve our natural resources for the public as a whole, for the average man and the average woman who make up the body of the American people.

FOLLOWING THE CAMPAIGN

A WEEKLY DIGEST OF POLITICAL OPINION AS EXPRESSED BY PEOPLE AND NEWSPAPERS

HOW HAS CONGRESS AFFECTED THE CAMPAIGN?

"THE Political Debating Society and Anti-Business Association at Washington adjourned yesterday," announces the New York "Sun" (Ind.). Thus is Congress described.

As to organization, in the House a Democratic majority controlled; in the Senate a Republican majority. But, as the Washington correspondent of the New York "Tribune" (Rep.) says, "the upper house was in a disorganized condition;" there was consequently "a lack of responsibility and an indefiniteness of aim that made it almost impossible to consider legislation with the single purpose of promoting the public welfare." Added to this "was the determination of the Democratic majority in the House to prevent, as far as possible, the approval of any measure which might reflect credit on the Taft Administration." But "in predicting that the Democratic House of Representatives had made Democratic victory possible by the great things it has accomplished," the Leavenworth, Kansas, "Times" (Rep.) declares that "Speaker Clark has fallen into error."

If the House has accomplished any "great things," the country has not taken note of it. If Democratic victory is possible, it is not because of the things the Democrats have done in this Congress, but because of Republican dissension.

The session has been, the Scranton "Tribune Republican" (Rep.), says, "prolonged, turbulent, and inefficacious. But it has been genuinely representative."

The muddled state of public opinion throughout the Nation . . . has been perfectly reflected in both branches of the National Legislature.

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. . . As a matter of fact, we are now engaged in a great National debate on our future policies, and, because no decision has yet been reached, the actions of Congress have been indecisive, full of turmoil and aggravation.

During the just ended session of Congress over 26,000 bills were introduced in the House; in the Senate nearly 7,500. On the House side over 1,200 of these proposed pieces of legislation were favorably reported: on the Senate side something over 1,000. From all this about 300 public laws have been enacted. How were these passed? How do they affect the various political parties in the present campaign?

As regards campaign material, the legislation passed by the recent session of Congress will be found wanting. Any claims to it by Republicans, Democrats, or Progressives are sure to be disputed. The Democrats claim much, because, a majority of the House, their efforts at tariff reform were frustrated by the Republicans in the Senate. For campaign material the Democrats have relied chiefly upon their attempted tariff legislation. It has doubtless given them much material. But the effort has been crude enough to elicit this reproof from one of their own party exponents, the New York "Times:"

The tariff schedules should be revised. They must be revised. But it was chiefly with an eye to campaign effect that the Democrats of the House prepared bills which they knew the President would veto. Duties are not lowered in that way. Nothing is done in that way save to provide material for campaign speeches. The public business is not advanced a peg, the public welfare is not promoted, by these tactics.

Republican opinion of the Democratic tariff agitation is succinctly summed up by the South Bend, Indiana, "Tribune" (Rep.). It says:

With the tariff . . . the one supreme desire has been to put President Taft in the hole.

Progressive opinion is expressed by the Chicago "Evening Post" (Prog.):

With Democrats in control of the House, with Progressives and Reactionaries dividing opinion in the Senate, and with the Democrats there helping first one and then the other, only to make confusion worse, what chance has there been, save in a case or two, to do anything worthy with the schedules? . . . The session has not been a success from a Progressive point of view.

Among the proposals concerning the appropriation bills none called forth sharper adverse criticism than did those inserted in the Army Bill which elicited the President's prompt veto, namely, the limitations placed upon the President's choice of his Chief of Staff, which would have rendered ineligible Generals Wood and Funston, Colonel Goethals, and many other able officers; the provision which tied the Secretary of War's hands in dealing with army posts, the proposition to cut down the army by five regiments of cavalry, the big cut in the number of major and brigadier generals of the line, the perpetuation of the Adjutant-General's staff corps on the General Staff, and the provision with regard to detached service, which would have seriously hampered the work both of the Panama Canal engineers and of the Philippine constabulary.

The Army Bill as now passed is so good as to elicit commendation from the Secretary of War, because, first, of the consolidation effected of the quartermasters' subsistence and pay corps, "a reform which has pressed for many years, and which will, I believe, result in much economy of effort, and in greater simplicity and efficiency in those three lines of army administration."

But a more important item of legislation is the taking of the first step towards creating a regular army reserve. This is a most satisfactory outcome of the long contest over the length of the term of enlistment. At present, while the regiments of the regular army are kept at half strength in time of peace, there is no provision made by law for filling their ranks in case of war.

For the failure of some measures the Republicans may be held responsible, as, of course, for the tariff bills; and for the failure of other measures the Republicans "cannot be held altogether blameless," as the Philadelphia "Telegraph" points out in speaking of any lack of attempt made to reform the currency. As is natural in a Republican paper, however, the "Telegraph" does not fail to pay its compliments to the Democrats with regard to their lack of action on two of the most important measures before Congress, the Immigration Bill and the Employers' Liability Bill. The first was "shelved" in the House Committee because "the majority was afraid of offending the naturalized voters of New York and other cities of the Atlantic seaboard." The House Committee failed to report the second, "and will again fail to report it at the short session which begins the first Monday in December." For, with Southern Democrats dominating the majority of the Committee, "nothing else could be

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expected." Continuing, the "Telegraph" says:

These men are from States that are half a century behind the North in the character of legislation looking to better conditions for labor. In some of them children under ten years old are permitted to work all night in cotton mills.

If we may believe the "American Federationist," the Sixty-second Congress has so far been one of the best ever known as regards labor legislation. The paper quotes sixteen measures either fully enacted or advanced further than ever before. The New York "Times," however, takes exception to some of these. For instance:

The proposals to limit the issue of injunctions in labor cases and to provide a jury trial in cases of contempt of court are strictly class legislation, wanted by labor alone, and prejudicial to every interest except unionized labor.

As to the eight-hour bill itself, the "Times" complains that "it can be claimed as of general interest only in so far as it advances an eight-hour day outside of Government employ, those in Government employ being previously a favored class at the expense of the taxpayers." The provision that Post-Office employees may be unionized is characterized by the Federation of Labor as restoring them to the full rights of citizenship in the manner "written and urged" by that body.

Good enactments, for which party honors seem to be easy, are the Parcels Post Law (which the Syracuse "Post Standard" (Rep.) calls "the most important constructive measure that the recent Congress can claim credit for"), the amendment to the Pure Food and Drugs Act, and the Panama Bill. The first was suggested by President Taft in a special Message, but its strenuous protagonist was Representative Sherley, in whose efforts the Democrats may feel just pride.

The Panama Bill is attacked and defended by all parties. The Democratic New York "Times" calls it "beyond dispute the most disgraceful and flagitious measure passed by Congress during this session." This for two reasons: first, because its provisions, avers the "Times," are in open conflict with our treaty obligations; and, second, because, as the Washington "Herald" (Ind.) also avers, "it turns out to be a subsidy enactment for the benefit of the coastwise trade."

As to the first point, we make four quotations from English, French, German, and Russian papers. The London "Times" declares it to be what the British Government affirms it involves, namely, "a flagrant disregard of British treaty rights."

These rights are too plain for us to refrain from asserting them as strongly as the forms of diplomatic intercourse with a friendly nation would allow. There can be no mistake upon that head, or upon the degree of support which the Government will receive from the whole nation and the whole Empire in making protest. Should diplomacy fail to solve the controversy, a contingency we can hardly think probable, confident in the goodness of our cause, we shall unhesitatingly propose to submit the dispute to arbitration at The Hague. It is already suggested that the Government, which has hitherto prided itself upon being the foremost champion of arbitration, may refuse to go to arbitration in its own case. That is an eventuality which we refuse to contemplate unless and until it becomes imminent.

If the "Times" is a weighty exponent of British opinion, so is the Paris "Temps" of French opinion. The "Temps" declares that Great Britain, in demanding arbitration at The Hague, "will have the moral support of all the Powers which stand to gain by the treaty held to be violated." The "Temps" adds: "The only effect of President Taft's measure in which he attempts to justify the Panama Canal Bill is to prove that the bill is questionable." It further says:

Before the Act again comes up for discussion in Congress the American elections will have been held, and British diplomacy will perhaps have persuaded American statesmen of the truth of the salutary principle that honesty is the best policy.

As a rule, the old custom of American politicians at election time of twisting the British lion's tail leaves England indifferent. But this will not be the case with the Panama Canal Bill, which not only twists the lion's tail but violates a solemn treaty.

In Germany the Berlin "Vossische Zeitung"—"Tante Voss," as it is affectionately called—is a newspaper intended for family reading rather than for the reading of the "man-in-the-street." Even the placid "Tante," however, is moved to something strenuous as it comments editorially on the "disruption" of Anglo-American friendship, and asks ironically, "What has now become of Joseph Chamberlain's once cherished dream of an Anglo-Saxon alliance?" Other more violent expressions from German papers give color to the opinion of the Berlin correspondent of the New York "Times," who declares that

If the Kaiser's Government were not itself sitting on the lid, the Government of the United States would be treated to some expression of

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German opinion which would make British comment a whisper by comparison.

Finally, one of the most important of the Russian papers, the St. Petersburg "Novoe Vremya," has this to say concerning the Panama Bill in its relation to the alleged violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty:

Such is the value of the word passed by the great Republic of America. Russia is not directly interested, and, moreover, we are not signatories to the Treaty of 1901. But we have a right, and we regard it as an obligation, to point out how the Americans deal with international treaties.

The New York "American" (Dem.) takes another position. Quoting the first rule of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, it says:

It seems clear that the treaty-makers intended that the United States, party of the first part, building and owning the Canal, should adopt the rules for the control of the Canal, and that all other nations, parties of the second part, observing these rules, should be allowed to use the Canal on terms of equality. . . .

This is also the sense of the President's Message to Congress:

The right to the use of the Canal and to equality of treatment in the use depends upon observance of the conditions of the use by the nations to whom we extended that privilege. The privileges of all nations, to whom we extended the use upon the observance of these conditions, were to be equal to that extended to any one of them which observed the conditions. In other words, it was a conditional favored-nation treatment, the measure of which, in the absence of express stipulations to that effect, is not what the country gives to its own nationals, but the treatment it extends to other nations.

To this the "American" adds:

There is no more reason why our country, owning the Canal, should concede to all nations all the rights that we enjoy than that our ships should also leave the Canal within twenty-four hours in case of war, just as the rule requires foreign ships to do. . . .

In arbitration involving a right so vital as this, no self-respecting nation like ours could stand upon any decision of The Hague which denied to our country the rights in our Canal which England has in the Suez Canal, and the rights which only England, of all nations, now protests in us.

If it should be decided by any arbitration court that the United States had, by any treaty, deprived itself of the right to pass its own commerce free, or to remit tolls to its own vessels, then the demand of this people would be to alter the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, or to terminate it, as treaties can always be altered or terminated when necessary.

Our one defender abroad on the subject of the Panama Bill seems to be the London "Nation." It admits that, on the surface, the British case against the exemption of American ships from Canal dues is exceedingly strong.

The treaty surrendered to one of the parties all its political interests for what was believed to be a guaranty of commercial rights.

The provisions of the treaty for equality of treatment "could not apply to vessels engaged in coastwise traffic and using the Canal, because only American vessels, in fact, were so engaged." The "Nation" adds:

No one ever suggested that the treaty suspends the operation of the navigation laws when the coasting trade goes through the Canal. The greater discrimination includes the less; and as the navigation laws exclude all but American ships from the coasting trade, the grievance of discrimination in tolls upon coastwise traffic would seem to be somewhat unreal. The coasting trade is already an American monopoly, and the imposition or relaxation of dues upon it would seem to be a purely domestic affair.

Aside from these laws, the claims of the Democratic majority for the paternity of others is thus dealt with in a statement by Representative Mann, of Illinois, the Republican minority leader in the House:

Practically all of the laws of any importance passed at this session were either bills prepared in a previous Congress and left over for lack of time for their consideration, or else they were bills prepared by officials in President Taft's Administration. The laws relating to steamships are of some importance, but they were prepared by the Department of Commerce and Labor, and were Administration measures. So also was the one to establish the Children's Bureau, which was a copy of one previously reported in a prior Congress, and which passed this session largely through the friendly efforts of President Taft. The white phosphorous match law was simply a copy of the Esch Republican bill in the last Congress. The three-year homestead law was put through by the efforts of Republicans in the House and the Senate and President Taft. The law providing for the quarantining of nursery stock was prepared by the Department of Agriculture.

In the same sense Mr. Mann points out that the parcels post provision in the Post-Office Bill was made possible only because of a parliamentary situation brought about by the Republican side of the House, and that the Republicans forced through an amendment to the Campaign Publicity Act, making it apply to primaries as well as to general elections. Also the bill creating a commission on industrial relations, "which will undertake an investigation designed to bring about peace in the industrial world, is

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another measure sponsored by President Taft in a special Message."

Yet, even with this record, the session has been "almost barren of constructive legislation," complains the Buffalo "Express" (Ind. Rep.). Not so, rejoins another Buffalo paper, the "Enquirer" (Dem.). "Much *constructive* legislation, but much less *constructed* legislation, is the record of the second session of the Sixty-second Congress." The "Enquirer" explains:

> The record of the first session . . . now seems far in the past, but it should be cited to make complete the showing of excellence. Reforming and liberalizing the rules of the House, reciprocity, the farmers' free list, and other features of the first session rank among proofs that the lower branch of Congress was in harmony with the progressive spirit of the times. . . .
>
> The work of the second session was in general accord with that of the first. Genuine effort was made to relieve the people from the oppression of special privilege. The Democrats of the House, and the Senate Democrats with their Progressive allies, accomplished much . . . and attempted more which has the whole-souled approval of the country.

In the same spirit another Democratic organ, the Baltimore "Evening Sun," thus eulogizes the Democrats. They have reason, it declares, "to look back with pride and satisfaction to the record of this session. They have . . . fought a good fight and kept the faith. They faced the work of the session in a new spirit and with a new sense of responsibility."

> There were some stumblings and an occasional relapse into old ways, but for the most part they were free from the timidity, the vacillation, the political cowardice and opportunism that have so often exposed them as a minority to the ridicule of their opponents and to the censure of the country. They marched straight forward without twistings or turnings, and they tried honestly to redeem every promise they made to the country.
>
> The record they have made is one of the most valuable Democratic assets in this campaign.

At the beginning of the Sixty-second Congress the Democrats decided that they would "show up the extravagances of Republican rule for the last sixteen years." Nine committees on expenditures in the several Government departments were set to work. In addition to these nine committees, various special committees were set on the trail of the trusts. Have the nine investigations—the steel and other investigations—started by the Democrats produced the expected campaign material? This seems a sore point with the average Democrat, the Republican papers are quick to note; it is perhaps significant that in all the stump speeches inserted in the "Record" by Democratic orators little mention is made of this feature of the work of the House. The investigations have cost already $100,000 in the aggregate—with an equal amount appropriated for a continuation of various inquiries. The Washington correspondent of the New York "Tribune" declares that "not one of these investigations has produced anything which will be of aid to the Democrats in seeking control of the next House." On the other hand, another Republican paper, the Scranton "Tribune-Republican," declares that "so far as the last session has been effective it has been in the way of scandals and exposures." And the Scranton paper adds:

> Men get mad, begin to talk, and in the course of crimination and recrimination much washing of dirty linen takes place, and whole periods of secret conspiracy and corrupt bargainings are opened to the public view. The Lorimer investigation, the steel investigation, the campaign contribution exposure, have given the people a look-in at their Government which is only vouchsafed at long intervals.

As to appropriations, the Democratic announcement that unheard-of economies would now occur is seen in the fact that a saving of seven million dollars has actually been made from the total appropriations of the last regular session of a Republican Congress. But, to quote again the Washington correspondent of the New York "Tribune," this saving has been made "by failure to appropriate for authorized expenditures, which will result in a deficiency that must be provided for at the next session of Congress."

One way in which the saving was attempted was by granting one battle-ship instead of two. Concerning this the sentiment of most observers is expressed by the Minneapolis "Journal" (Ind. Rep.) when it points out that, at a time when we extend the Monroe Doctrine, the Democrats in the House refuse to grant money for battle-ships, "as if Japan or any other great Power were to be kept out of Magdalena Bay or any other post by the loud discharge of paper resolutions." To which the Brooklyn, New York, "Eagle" (Ind. Dem.) adds: "The Monroe Doctrine, with elaborations or without, is no stronger than the navy of the United States."

Other proposed economies are thus described by the "Tribune's" correspondent:

> If President Taft and a Republican Senate had not stood in their way, the Democrats might

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have effected a much greater saving by abolishing two of the most important bureaus in the Department of State—the Bureau of Trade Relations, and the Division of Latin-American Affairs! The plan would have badly crippled the State Department had it carried.

Furthermore,

If the Democratic House majority had been sincere in their efforts to bring about greater economy, they would have acted on President Taft's recommendation to extend the civil service to include the local officers under several of the departments, and would thereby have saved about ten million dollars. This is one of several recommendations made to Congress by President Taft, based on the findings of the Economy and Efficiency Commission by which economy in Government expenditures could be effected and the efficiency of the public service increased.

But Congress thought so little of this Commission that it ruthlessly trimmed the salaries of its members, and limited its powers to "matters of transacting the public business of the Government only in the several executive departments." As is well known, the Commission has been in favor of instituting the English budget system in presenting the Government's estimates of what the expenses of the various departments would be likely to be. But in the Legislative Bill a paragraph was "sneaked in" at the last moment which, it is claimed, shows the temper of the Democratic House leaders:

The regular annual estimates of appropriations and expenses of the Government shall be prepared and submitted to Congress by those charged with the duty of such preparation and submission, only in the forms as at the time are required by law, and in no other form and at no other time.

The session has been prolific of vetoes by President Taft. These affected the wool and steel tariff, the army and legislative appropriation bills, the purchase of permanent army maneuver grounds, the Dixie and Coosa River water power bills, the sales of burned timber on Indian lands, and the reimbursement of those who furnished labor and materials for work on the Corbett tunnel.

That Progressive opinion does not approve the wool veto may be indicated by the Tacoma "Tribune" (Prog.):

President Taft, in explaining his veto of the wool tariff revision bill, declares that the bill "was passed without ample study and investigation."

The wool schedule has been under study and investigation since September, 1909, when Mr. Taft made his famous Winona speech, in which he declared the wool schedule was "indefensible." . . .

. . . President Taft has done more than all other men in public life combined to prevent downward revision of the tariff in compliance with the pledges of the Republican platform of 1908.

In general, however, the President's vetoes, says the Buffalo "Express" (Ind. Rep.), "have successfully blocked most of the attempted mischief."

The Democrats have not themselves to thank that they are not facing the country with the record of a tenure-of-office bill to break down civil service reform, a reduction in the army and an interference with promotion for political ends, a refusal to keep up the navy, and the precipitation of a period of business depression through reckless tariff-smashing.

The President emerges from the session in good condition, if we can believe the New York "Sun" (Ind.). It is true that, "laboring under the disadvantage imposed by hostile control of the House of Representatives and a hopelessly split majority in the Senate," he has had an unusually difficult course to steer; and that, under these circumstances, "the position of the Executive has been vexatious, trying, and exposed to unusual dangers." The "Sun" further expresses its opinion:

It is to Mr. Taft's credit that he has sustained it without more concessions to the expediencies of the hour or the necessities of the political campaign in which he is engaged. He has been the President of the United States first, and an intelligent partisan second. He has not been a trimmer, nor has he sacrificed his convictions because of clamor or misrepresentation. President Taft has made mistakes, as every President must; but his essential sincerity, modesty, good sense, and strength of character are convincingly apparent.

Another New York paper, however, the "Evening Post," does not agree with this. I does not indicate that the President has emerged from the session with enhanced prestige:

The difficulty is not simply that he had endlessly recurring differences with Congress. Some of them were perhaps unavoidable, but in them all he bore himself with a certain awkwardness. Where he was in the wrong he had not the adroitness to make his cause appear the better, and even where he was right he had no facility in evoking popular support.

"We should gain in self-respect and in the appearance of public decorum—at least, we should be less disgusted with ourselves," remarks the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.), "if it were so ordered that, in Presidential years, Congress should finish its business and disperse on the 4th of March."

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MR. BRYAN'S VIEWS OF GOVERNOR WILSON AND THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

AT the request of The Outlook for a brief statement of his views concerning the Democratic platform, Governor Wilson's candidacy and the prospects of his election, Mr. Bryan has sent us the following letter for publication:

THE COMMONER

Lincoln, Nebraska, August 19, 1912.

The Outlook, New York City:

Dear Sirs—The platform adopted at Baltimore is the most progressive ever presented to the country. It speaks out plainly and strongly on every important question. It puts the party on record in favor of a tariff for revenue only, to be approached gradually; the popular election of Senators; an income tax; Presidential primaries; the election of National committeemen by popular vote, service to begin immediately; a single term for the Presidency; and labor legislation. It opposes the principle of private monopoly, the Aldrich Bill and any central bank, and imperialism. These are only a few of the subjects treated. In Governor Wilson we have a Presidential candidate who inspires confidence among progressives of both parties, and whose fighting qualities have already been tested. His election seems assured. Governor Marshall, his running mate, is a strong personality, and has also shown his courage in political battles—his greatest being his successful effort to secure the selection of a United States Senator by popular vote. The Baltimore Convention made a record for progressiveness and has set the pace for the campaign.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) W. J. BRYAN.

We should have agreed with Mr. Bryan that the platform adopted at Baltimore is the most progressive ever presented to the country if he had added the words—"by the Democratic party."

We heartily agree with Mr. Bryan in his personal estimate of Governor Wilson, for whose integrity, human sympathy, lucidity of mind, determination of purpose, and executive capacity we have sincere admiration.

We do not suppose that any intelligent and thoughtful man can hope to agree with every detail or even with every plank of any political platform. We doubt if Mr. Bryan himself accepts every detail of the Democratic platform—certainly we do not accept every detail of the Progressive platform.

But, dismissing details, there are four fundamental grounds in respect to which the Democratic platform and Governor Wilson's candidacy appear to us to be reactionary and not progressive.

First, the tariff. Mr. Wilson and the Democratic platform stand for a tariff for revenue only, and announce that the protective principle is unconstitutional. There is no such thing as a tariff for revenue only. Any tariff of any kind necessarily involves some degree of protection to those interested in the manufactures or products upon which the so-called revenue tariff is laid. The Democratic party endeavored to frame a revenue tariff in the Wilson Bill, and made one of the most deplorable fiascos in the history of the tariff. We see nothing in the recent history of the Democratic party or in the conflicting elements which formed the Baltimore Convention to justify the hope that Governor Wilson, with all his power of character and ability, will be able to exercise more power than Mr. Cleveland did in persuading his party to refrain from the inconsistency of protecting special industries under the guise of raising revenue. If Mr. Wilson is elected, we believe that he will find his party as hopelessly divided on this question in 1916, and his country as hopelessly at sea as regards its business policy, as Mr. Cleveland found his party and country when he retired from the Presidency in 1897. In our judgment, the only logical positions are those of the free-trader and the protectionist. Free

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trade, however, is reciprocal. We cannot have free trade with Germany unless Germany will have free trade with us. In the present state of civilization protection in industry appears to be as inevitable as military force in society. We hope, in the evolution of society, that free trade will come as universal peace will come; but in the present stage the aim of statesmen should be to see that protection in industry is for the general welfare and not for special interests.

Second, the bosses. It is true that Governor Wilson's nomination was made in spite of and not at the behest of the bosses. But it could not have been made without their acquiescence. And the corrupt Democratic machines in those States which admittedly have such corrupt machines will be strengthened and not weakened by Governor Wilson's National success. Mr. Bryan will be a victor in the event of Mr. Wilson's election, but will not Mr. Ryan be equally a victor? It does not seem to us that the effective way to destroy what Mr. Beveridge has so well called the invisible government—that is to say, the partnership between corrupt politicians and corrupt special interests—is to make it merely half visible. Governor Wilson cannot openly and persistently fight and antagonize Mr. Charles Murphy, of Tammany Hall, however much he may despise him. The Progressive party despises Mr. William Barnes, of Stanwix Hall, and does openly and persistently fight and antagonize him.

Third, the taxing power. Governor Wilson has said specifically in his speech of acceptance that the taxing power of the Government should be used only to raise revenue for public purposes, and that to employ taxation for any other purpose is unsafe and illegitimate. From this view of the taxing power we radically dissent. We believe it is not only Constitutional but highly desirable in many instances to use taxation as one of the instruments of the police power of the State and the Nation. If Governor Wilson and the Democratic party are correct, we cannot tax wildcat State bank notes out of existence; or impose licenses on liquor saloons for the purpose not only of raising revenue but of regulating those saloons; or lay a tax on corporations for the purpose of obtaining from them public and accurate statements regarding their capital, profits, and other financial matters; we cannot tax "phossy-jaw" matches out of existence; or lay so high a tax on opium as to keep out of the country all but the very limited quantities needed for medicinal purposes. The taxing power of the Government provides one of the essential instruments for effective welfare legislation. Governor Wilson condemns it; the Progressive party commends it and proposes to use it. We favor its use.

Fourth, States' Rights. What shall be the powers of the National Government? What shall be the powers of the separate States? What shall be the relation of the separate States to the Nation? These questions form one of the most important and far-reaching issues of the campaign. The inevitable, and in our judgment the desirable, tendency of the time in economics, politics, commerce, and social relations is towards Nationalism. The abolition of general social injustices, the regulation of all trusts and the throttling of corrupt trusts, the development of sound and useful business prosperity, can be obtained, not by spasmodic and often conflicting State acts, but by a consistent and well-framed policy of National acts for the public good. The States must more and more deal with matters of merely local self-government, the Nation more and more with questions affecting all the people of the country. The Democratic party and Governor Wilson lay special emphasis on so-called "States' Rights" at a time when the country ought to be concerning itself about National rights. The doctrine of States' Rights is obsolete and cannot be revived by even so able a historian and publicist as Governor Wilson. And we doubt whether the party which lays emphasis on this obsolete doctrine is the party to intrust with the work of effecting great National reforms. The Democratic party by its own platform and by the utterances of its chosen leader announces itself as the party of "little Federalists." The Progressive party, by its pronouncements, by the record, philosophy, and achievement of its chosen leader, and by its very name, announces itself as a party of Nationalists. Those who believe that the best way to avoid the evils of political corruption is to divide responsibility and make Government weak will logically believe in "little Federalism." Those who believe, as we do, that the way to destroy corrupt politics and promote social justice is to make governmental authority as strong as possible in executing laws for general social welfare will logically, in our opinion, support the Progressive party.—THE EDITORS.

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EDUCATING THE CONSUMER

BY MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

FROM one of the universities which offer special courses in Domestic Art and Household Science I got a pamphlet on "The Principles of Jelly-Making." It is an admirable pamphlet. It covers the subject thoroughly, and lays out a straight road to the production from a given amount of fruit of the most jelly of the best quality at the lowest cost. Besides definite directions for the making of particular jellies, it gives a résumé of the principles that underlie all jelly-making, so that one who reads is richer in general culture as well as in specific information. It is a valuable pamphlet in its place: but its most serviceable place is not in the training of the housekeeper. To be of most benefit to her it should be primarily a pamphlet on the Principles of Jelly-Eating. For the modern housekeeper is in the throes of metamorphosis from producer to consumer, and the most important function of real education is to fit her, not for the state she is leaving, but for the state she is entering into. To make jelly is ceasing to be an important part of housekeeping; to eat jelly is, let us hope, the unending privilege of us all.

Now, it has been taken for granted through the generations that, since we all do consume things from the moment we are born until we die, consumption must be instinctive, no more needing to be taught than breathing. We see dimly that modern housekeeping has let go of production and concentrated on consumption; but we are, most of us, a little loth to admit that an education in housekeeping must be almost entirely an education in consumption. This was not true in the past, it may not be true in the coming ages, but in the present and the immediate future it is not to be questioned; for, as Mrs. Ellen H. Richards said, home economics must stand for the ideal home life of to-day, "unhampered by the traditions of the past."

Time was when the woman who kept house was expected to be the high priestess of that dire goddess How-to-Save-Money, but her metamorphosis from producer to consumer has shifted her worship to the new deity How-to-Spend. From an all-round producer the American woman has become the greatest consumer in the world. Of the ten billion dollars spent annually in the United States for home maintenance, food, shelter, and clothing, fully ninety per cent is spent by women. Isn't the science of consumption, then, worthy of special emphasis in the training for home efficiency?

Not many schools of home economics have grasped the fact that they should be *per se* trainers of consumers. They still tend to overemphasize home production; but the best of them are very generally swinging toward the first and most important work of training the consumer—they are beginning to establish standards.

"I am conscious of a standard," writes a pupil of a correspondence school from southern Illinois. "I see it in the way I manage my household, in my expenditure, my work. I think a change in my standards is now going on under the influence of my household studies. The change will, I suspect, consist largely in a shifting of emphasis in delivering me from certain traditional ideas."

The standards of this lady were the inherited housekeeping standards, the standards which our ancestors established through the long ages when they were building up the home as a factory.

Take the matter of food. It is undoubtedly for the advantage of the community that every individual stomach should have enough, and not too much, inside of it. The old standard was to distend its walls by mere bulk; the new school-set standard is to furnish it some two thousand to three thousand food units daily. The schools have worked out this standard of consumption through the study of protein and starches and fats, of calories and muscle-builders and heat-producers, till they have found the amount and kind of fuel the human machine needs for the various kinds of work it must do. To build these standards is a question of laboratories and applied mathematics not within the command of any middle-class home. If all of us are to have the benefit of them, they must be brought to us by the universities and the public school.

I met a Pratt Institute graduate on the Chicago train and led her gently to tell me how much of her domestic science she found useful in her housekeeping.

"Well," she confessed, "when the baby is teething, and the cook has left, and there is company to dinner, I don't think much about

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calories or a balanced ration, but somehow I've got the theory so well digested that I put the right things together without thinking about it."

Her food standard has become a part of her unconscious mental furniture, like the gauge by which we measure the length of our steps and the focus of our eyes.

I looked over some papers on Housing written by pupils of the American School of Home Economics. Says one of the students who lives in the country: "In the matter of house sanitation the important point is to know exactly what you have to deal with. There is no use in taking country plumbing for granted. You have got to get away not only from the traditional ideas of the man who built the house, but from your own old ideas as well."

These old ideas from which she is being freed by new school-set standards taught that a country house did not need an indoor bathroom, that the parlor was a jewel-casket to be opened only on rare occasions, that the children should be "bunched" in one room, that running water on the second floor was a luxury, that sanitary garbage disposal was optional with the individual. Under the influence of her new standards she has found out where every one of the pipes in her house is located, what they are for, and how they attend to their job. She has worked out for herself a system of out-of-the-house drainage, a new water system, and a method of scientific ventilation. As a consumer of housing she has put her training in practice.

Now, the basis of all these standards must be the ability to recognize quality when we see it. This is so important and so difficult that the Government tries to make it unnecessary. To establish standards—minimum standards, to be sure—has come to be the work of sanitary inspectors, tenement-house inspectors, clean milk commissioners, pure food and drug experts, departments of street-cleaning, and a hundred more. Theoretically, it would be well for the Government to establish standards for all things used by the consumers, and so save the schools from the onerous duty of inculcating them, and the pupils from the travail of assimilation. But how shall a Government that can reasonably say, "Potatoes below a certain grade shall not be used for human food," regulate the number of up-to-date potatoes a man shall eat? How shall a Government that can, and does, keep printed matter below a certain grade out of the mails say to the voracious consumer of storiettes, "Thus far and no farther?"

Besides, an efficient Government without efficient citizens is not a democracy. We don't want to revert to a benevolent despotism, or even to an apron-string bureaucracy. The setting and maintenance of standards is a two-handed business—the establishment of standards by the Government, and the testing and use of these standards by an enlightened citizenship. And in matters where the Government has not yet established standards of quality the initiative must come from the consumer.

Consider the consumption of textiles—a job we have been at ever since we progressed beyond the wearing of raw skins. But the quality of textiles is still one of the unguarded frontiers of knowledge. In fact, the general knowledge of quality in textiles is decreasing; for though the specialists have grown wiser, the consumers, who used to know a good deal about cloth they themselves spun and wove, have grown more ignorant. Have we not, all of us, seen our mothers place a wet finger under the tablecloths they were buying, to see if they were pure linen? That is a perfectly good test with hand-spun linen; but it is a dull manufacturer who can't circumvent a wet finger. We need both the training of the schools and the Government guarantee to buy cloth wisely.

The University of Wisconsin is giving a course for consumers of textiles at the same time that members of its faculty are working to get through a law on the standardization of cloth. The students study wool from sheep to broadcloth, silk from worm to ribbon, and are required to do one piece of weaving on the hand-loom, not for manual skill, but to make them understand the tests of quality. They are not expected to become weavers, but consumers of clothes. With this same end in view, they are taught the processes of dyeing and the durability of colors, and they study especially the adulteration of fabrics. I was shown card after card of cloth sold for "all wool" which, when tested by the students, proved to be practically all cotton.

But it is no longer enough that cloth should be all wool and a yard wide—that means little. These Wisconsin consumers must learn that even pure wool, when it is short and stiff, or soft and weak, is a poor purchase; that there are qualities of cloth in which the warp and weft are so uneven in

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weight that the heavy threads pull the light ones, and the cloth wears itself out; that there are weaves in which certain threads are so exposed that they break and leave a rough surface. All tests of "pure wool" cloth!

But even this is only a small part of the study of woolen fabrics, only a preliminary to establishing the standards of quality and price for the benefit of the consumer. Into these standards enter conditions of cloth production in the factory, wages paid operatives, taxes paid the Government, "Schedule K," freight rates, and the costs of selling the finished product. Nor is this training in textiles limited to general principles. It applies itself to such definite things as blue serge and black broadcloth, and other standard products. These students of the science of consumption have determined that, under existing conditions of wool production, price of labor and tariff, the lowest cost for blue serge fifty-four inches wide and of efficient quality is a dollar and a half a yard, and that the lowest cost of a similar quality of black broadcloth is nearly three dollars. Will not the trained consumer who has thoroughly assimilated these facts realize that when either blue serge or black broadcloth is offered for a less price it is not all wool, or is wool of poor quality, or damaged, or "mill ends," or remnants? Of course we recognize that both good and inferior cloths have their legitimate uses if the consumer is neither deceived as to their quality nor overcharged. There is no reason why the law should prohibit their manufacture as it may well prohibit the manufacture of adulterated foods and drugs. All that the consumer needs is to be protected by an honest label. How could the world get along without "shoddy," for instance, a cloth made from odds and ends of wool fiber, usually fiber that has been used before, when the present production of new wool is not nearly equal to the demand?

But the student has got to be taught that even these standards of quality are not absolute things. The perfect buttonhole may be produced at such a cost of time and labor that it is for the general advantage to use the commonplace hook and eye. It is not a question whether we can individually afford to pay in money for hand-made lingerie, but whether the community can afford the expenditure of so much eyesight and time and thought to make what is perhaps a superior product, but for which there is an approximate substitute; for are not things expensive to the community even when we make them ourselves?

Besides knowing what is for the advantage of the community and being able to recognize quality when one sees it, it is the work of the consumer to see that what the community needs is produced. Can one eat eggs, however wholesome, in a land where no hens are? I listened to one domestic science teacher who seemed to set me right between the covers of "Our Mutual Friend," where Dickens tells how "Mrs. John Rokesmith, who had never been wont to do too much as Miss Bella Wilfer, was under the constant necessity of referring for advice and support to a sage volume entitled 'The Complete British Family Housewife.' But there was a coolness on the part of the British Housewife that Mrs. J. R. found highly exasperating. She would say 'take a salamander,' or casually issue the order 'throw in a handful of'—something entirely unattainable. In these, the Housewife's glaring moments of unreason, Bella would shut her up and knock her on the table, apostrophizing her with the compliment, 'Oh, you *are* a stupid old donkey! Where am I to get it, do you think?'"

A good many instructors—far be it from me to call them what Bella did—entirely ignore the difficulties of getting the "salamander." That is one place where Teachers College in New York City is strong—it teaches the prospective consumer how to get the "salamander."

Now we know that it is to the advantage of society that we should all have clean clothes and house linen, and we are fairly able to recognize cleanliness when we see it. But to produce this cleanliness under modern conditions is quite another matter. We have, thank Heaven, passed, mentally at least, beyond the stage of mother-at-the-washtub. We are passing rapidly beyond the stage of anybody at the washtub anywhere, and at Teachers College the consumers of clean clothes, prospective and actual, are being taught how under actual conditions clean clothes can be produced.

"How people can accept clothes blued with the old liquid indigo I don't see!" exclaimed an instructor at the College.

"Why not?" I inquired, all bluing being more or less alike to me.

"Why not? Don't you know that it makes rust spots?"

And then and there she took me into a

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class that was making a special study of bluings, and I learned how much waste there was in block and ball bluings, and that the proper thing to use was a specially prepared aniline dye of the proper shade. I was shown how my intelligent demand for clean clothes could be satisfied, how the thing I wanted could be produced. As part of this education, the girls at Teachers College also test out washing-machines and mangles, irons, and soaps, bought in the open market, with reference to their effect on the things washed, their cost to buy and operate, and the skill, time, and strength their use involves. The College does not, however, lay down any fiat on bluing, nor on washing-machines, nor on any other laundry appliance; for may not far better things be invented in the future? It teaches the points in the production of clean clothes as it might teach the points in judging fox-terriers—not whether any specific flat-iron or small dog is good or bad.

Inextricably mixed up with learning how to get produced the things one wants is learning how to secure them after they are produced. The consumer must be trained to remove the obstacles between himself and the thing he needs. These obstacles are usually matters of cost—cost and its contributing causes, transportation, the exploitation of public utilities, the smothering of useful patents, and the arbitrary limiting of useful manufacture. From all over the country come letters full of the same things that are in the contributors' columns of the papers and magazines. "Eggs cost sixty cents a dozen, so we use rice instead." "Electric current for heating is so expensive that we still burn coal." "I would like to send Harold to college, but it costs so much that I cannot afford to." "Do not use butter in making pastry, for, though the flavor is better, the cost is very much more."

The consumer and those who advise him take prices as final things, as representing the true cost plus a fair profit, whereas in reality—

Now the trained consumer knows that there is no fuel like electricity, so clean, so reliable, so easily controlled; but the better trained she is, the more certainly she knows that she is as much cut off from using it as though it were ambergris. Why? Because it varies in price from ten to nineteen cents a kilowatt-hour. I have just called up the contract department of the Commonwealth Edison Company, of Chicago, and found that the net rate for family use is ten cents, exactly the same as in New York City. But the people of the region have taxed themselves to build a drainage canal, a property now belonging to the people, which has developed 125,000 horse-power, about 100,000 horse-power of which is available. This, in the form of electric current, at the very lowest estimate, is worth about $2,000,000 a year. Some experts reckon it to be worth ten times that. A small thing, but their own, and what could it not do if turned into the kitchens of Chicago at cost? Does that ten cent a kilowatt-hour rate have to stand? Is it wise to teach the consumers that it is a Heaven-fixed obstacle to good housekeeping? They broke down the $1 per 1,000 feet gas limit in New York City, the car-fare rate in Cleveland, and the freight-rate limits in Wisconsin!

I was talking with a woman from Sun Prairie, a small Wisconsin town in the midst of a dairy district.

"Oh, yes, I cook with electricity," she said. "It does cost a good deal now, because, you see, the plant is just new and we haven't paid for it yet."

"Paid for it?"

She looked at me for a moment in uncomprehending surprise, then smiled her amusement.

"Oh, it belongs to the town, you know. We pay a good price for the current now—almost as much as they do in the city; but as soon as we have paid for our plant we shall get it at cost, and then it'll be the cheapest thing we could use."

This, of course, is on the basis of a municipally owned plant—a small one, that is supposed to be more costly to run than a larger one.

The University of Illinois, in a pamphlet written by Mrs. E. Davenport, has worked out the cost of equipping a single country house—one that can be sufficiently lit by thirty tungsten burners—with an electric plant of its own. The cost of buying and installing this plant is approximately $600, the cost of maintenance from eight to ten dollars a year, and the cost of the electricity so produced is five cents a kilowatt-hour. This is on a scale so small that it is theoretically very expensive to run! Now of course Mrs. Davenport's plan involves electricity at a low voltage to be used for lighting only; but the country consumer who has refused to

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consider the kerosene lamp as final may well refuse to let the coal range obstruct her efficiency. Aren't the problems of electric light and electric heat Siamese twins?

Certainly it is part of the consumer's job to perform an economic steeple-chase over the fences and the ditches and hedges that are between her and the things that it is for the advantage of the community that she should have, and it should be part of her education to practice her in economic hurdle-jumping.

I have been talking with Miss Snow, head of Household Arts work in the Chicago public schools.

"If this instruction in housekeeping," said she, "were nothing but teaching the children to cook and clean and wash and do all the other things that are done *in* the home, I shouldn't be very much interested in it. As I see it, Domestic Science is a training in the valuation of life relations. It concerns itself with government and politics and business and health and capital and labor and the social setting of them all. It is really training the consumer to *live*."

And to live is to consume!

In the public schools, where the courses are comparatively elementary, the relations between life and the specific studies are not difficult to establish; but when the general principles cover themselves with a mass of detail, as they do in the more elaborate courses of the universities, it takes a conscious binding together of the threads to bring them into relation in the students' minds. This is not very often done, for the reason that few members of the faculties themselves understand these "relations."

"What is the object of all this home economics work?" I asked the head of a department in a great State university. "You're supported by the State funds; what are you giving back to the people in return?"

She looked a little vague, and then said, brightening:

"We've five thousand students."

"I suppose you're taking such courses as this one in sewing on through the commercial production of clothes, through factory legislation, and wages, and hours?"

"Oh, we couldn't go into that!" she cried.

The detailed study in that university was good, but a course in textiles naturally gets itself a long way from the piece of cloth boiling in caustic potash to see if it is all wool or not, and a cooking course a long way from how to make muffins, and a sewing course from how to make buttonholes, and all the other courses in a Home Economic department sprangle away from the ostensible starting-points. It takes not only a big underlying idea but a forceful personality to do the new work of correlating these things and feeding them predigested to the consumer in training. Both the idea and the personalities they have at the University of Wisconsin. As Mr. Hatch, head of the extension work of the Wisconsin Agricultural College, told me: "You Eastern people who are used to endowed institutions may not understand it, but the object of this university that the people have made is to be serviceable to the people."

And Professor Abby L. Marlatt, head of the Wisconsin Department of Home Economics, has had the force to draw all these diverse activities into a course in what she has called "Humanics," planned to link the theories of the class-room to the realities of life. I heard one lecture in this course. Its subject was "The Child in Industry: Its Effect upon State Laws and Necessary Legislation."

It was a talk backed by Government documents and State investigations, by the reports of charitable societies, tariff schedules, and the rate regulation of railways, and not a conclusion did it draw! Quite unemotionally it showed that there is child labor in quantity, and how much and where, according to the Census; showed the cost of this in health and intelligence, quoting from Government investigations in the South and New England; in the death rate, quoting from the report of the Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality; showed that it is absolute necessity that forces children to go to work, quoting from the Massachusetts report on why children go to work; showed the wages of fathers and mothers in the woolen mills of Lawrence before the last strike, and correlated these with the claims that the high tariff on wool is to protect the standard of wages of the American workingman, and with the number of children actually working in these same mills because their parents cannot support them; and all these things with the price of woolen cloth and the profit on it—Miss Marlatt *didn't have to draw conclusions*. The brain of a twenty-year-old college student, after it has been tabulating chemical and physical experiments in three columns—first, the process, as laid down in the book; second, the result, as observed by the eye; third, the

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inference as made by the brain—draws conclusions quite automatically from such a lecture as this of Miss Marlatt.

Miss Marlatt's students will be among the very few of us who have been trained in the principles of consumption beyond the narrow individual principle established by our individual digestions or complexions, our social aspirations or our mental appetites. Housekeeping, even the larger housekeeping which is not production, is but a small part of this science of consumption which can operate quite as directly upon a memorial statue at Washington as upon a can of beans.

Consumption is our one universal function, and through it we have power and happiness and progress, or retrogression and spiritual and bodily death. Some of us already know what we want to consume and how to get it, but it takes an educated social vision to see the needs of the race and how to satisfy them. Is there any bigger work for the universities, the colleges, and the public schools than to train consumers to this end?

TRAITS OF CELTIC POETRY

BY SHANE LESLIE

IN the course of what may be called the golden age of Irish literature, between the eighth and twelfth centuries, the Irish Celts reduced their system of meters and alliteratives to a minute and scientific condition. So far from spontaneity receiving any encouragement, no aspiring poet was permitted to hold poetic rank until he had completed twenty years of continuous and successful study. But once he had acquired the robe and status of a true poet, he simultaneously acquired an honor and emolument that the less qualified writers of to-day might envy. The Irish laureate was placed immediately beyond the bounds of criticism or competition. He ranked next to the blood royal. At feast or assembly he sat in the place of honor. His person was as sacred as that of a bishop, and the most truculent warrior was obliged to give him precedence. When he traveled, he was followed by the equipage of a prince; and by the law of the land no king could refuse him whatever gift he cared to exact in return for an elegy of mourning or praise. It was only natural that such a privileged class should develop symptoms of heads swollen beyond the reasonable inflatus of the Muse; and again and again the arrogance and covetousness of bards is noted in Irish *prose*. At one time their actual banishment *en masse* from the country was averted only by the personal intervention of Saint Columcille. To this day it is worthy of note that Lough Derg (the Lake of the Red Eye) owes its name to the preposterous demands of a bard who, having exhausted every conceivable form of remuneration, asked the local king to reward the poem which he had composed by the gift of his single eye, which painful payment the king, to his everlasting credit, performed rather than incur the disgrace of being a half-hearted patron of literature.

As regards the literary tradition which the Irish race made such extraordinary efforts to dignify and maintain, it is not too much to say that it eventually had more effect in the molding of the vernacular poetry of Europe than any of the tongues of the ancient world. It was fated that the Celts should show themselves not only geographical pioneers from the day that they set out on the westward journeying that brought them to final settlement in the isle of their destiny, but explorers in the domains of literature as well. Unbiased by any classical tradition borrowed from Greek or Latin, they set out and traversed by themselves entirely new paths. They extended the power of song over a wider conquest than the Romans had ever carried the power of the sword. They entered into realms of literature untouched by the legions of Latin writers. Into "regions Cæsar never knew" they bore the eagles of their song. They evolved forms and devices of poetry which never occurred to the poets on Parnassus or at Tibur. They built up harmonies of word-music which we are seldom able to translate into English meter, even when we have learned sufficiently to admire them. If they never walked upon the sunlit heights which were touched by the Greek philosophers,

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or upon the smooth and pleasant plains trod by the Augustan writers, they passed under seas to the strange and mystic cavern from which came the light that the modern world knows as romance.

To narrate the sum of their achievements is to indicate almost every device and variation known to modern poetry. They re-echoed and perfected the echo of refrain, and the broken stave they were the first to break. With the power of alliteration which exists only in Virgil as a sober though harmonious occurrence, they devised a great alternating music of words in which vowels made voice like live things and consonants sounded all the movements of wind and storm and sea. For the expression of intense feeling they employed a strange and original method of diction called the *rosg*, from which the conception of modern blank verse is largely taken. Above all, they made a discovery which was as typical of their racial imagination as the discovery of the uses of steam by Englishmen or the finding of the Polar North by an American. They discovered solely and beyond question of doubt the joy and the grace with which the Creator of all harmonies has invested the power of rhyme.

So that it was with no crude outfit that the poets of Ireland set out to elaborate the three great cycles of mingled verse and prose in which their race found the revelation and reflection that Homeric poems afforded to the Greeks and the Old Testament affords yet to the Jews. The earliest is the mythological cycle, in which the strife between the elder races of Ireland and their conquerors is waged, not in the sober recital of fact, but in the distorted silhouette of saga that the wand of the weird casts across the record of untold centuries until the original conflict of mortals is lost in a shadowy war of gods. Secondly, there is the saga which remains forever associated with the Court of King Conor mac Nessa, the great historical contemporary of Christ, which is almost entirely occupied with the life and exploits of Cuchulain, the Hound of the North, the peerless champion of Ulster. It was this epic of Ulster that remained the most representative tale of Irish valor as long as the northern O'Neills sat on the High King's throne at Tara. Later the triumph of Brian Boru and the ascendency of the Munster monarchy was followed by the predominance of the third great saga, the tales dealing with Fian mac Cool and the legendary Fianna, unhappily popularized in modern days under the much bruited and degraded name of Ossian. It is this saga which has continued to hold the greatest position in the oral tradition of the Scotch and Irish Celts, and out of which James Macpherson built up the ingenious but lying fabric upon which the poetical fame of the hapless Ossian has been made to rest. The Cuchulain saga has come to us in manuscript rather than in oral custody. It has had to be pieced together out of many separate stories compressed in all the wealth of cues and runes into which the mediæval bards loved to stereotype their traditional legends. On the other hand, the Ossianic poets have been resinging and resetting the Fenian tales until recent times in the way that skillful musicians build up new harmonies out of ancient and familiar themes.

But rather than sketch the trackless latitudes of Celtic poetry, it would be preferable to give an idea of some characteristics which it shares with few, if any, other world literatures, and which have enabled it to sound so distinct and so vibrating a chord in the "concert of Europe."

First, we may notice a peculiar and wonderful sense of nature, almost amounting to a pantheism at times, a spirit which fills Irish poetry with so many quaint and personifying expressions, which speaks of the robin's cry as "the music of the red-breasted men" and the bees and chafers as "the little musicians of the world," which trembles with the horror and dreariness and silences of winter scenes, and yet rises to a wild frenzy of joy over the coming of summer when "the talk of the rushes" is heard and all nature finds so many voices that even "the stuttering quagmire prattles." Here is a winter song dating from the ninth century:

"These are my tidings for you—that the forest stags bell,
And that summer has gone and left snow upon flood and on fell,
That the winds leap up cold and the sun sinketh low in the sky,
And shorter of course are the tides of the sea running high.

"Blood-red is the bracken, the flower of its beauty is gone,
And the wild geese are raising their cry, oh, so weary and wan,
For the fingers of winter have clutched the bright wings of the bird,
And the season of ice is at hand—such tidings I heard."

Secondly, we may distinguish a richer sense of color than is usual with any but the

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Oriental mind. Ethnologists often ask whether the Celts did not bring their love of brilliant hues as well as many other racial characteristics out of the radiant East. Colors, which in Latin poetry are merely named for conventional and epithetical purposes, are dwelt upon in Irish verse for the sheer love of color and the intoxication of reader and bard. Every color is lavishly poured into the lines until it becomes as visible to the eye as to the imagination. The Celts possessed this sense in common with Pindar, alone among classical writers, who knew well how to weave the delicate woof of his Nemean and Olympian odes with a gold and a scarlet that ran through them like molten ore or running blood. As one instance of the fascination that color had over the Celtic mind we subjoin a translation of a dirge written for King Niall of the Nine Hostages, who died in the early fifth century. It is interesting as being composed in the dialogue, which, as far as we know, was the nearest approach the Irish ever made to the dramatic form:

Tuirn, son of Torna

When we hied to the hosting with Niall of the Nine,
His hair like a primrose would glimmer and shine.

Torna

Well spoken! a slave would I give to be thine,
For that hair like a primrose agleam in thy line—
And his lashes so darkly and delicate lay,
With eyes like the woad or the hyacinth spray.

Tuirn, son of Torna

All blood-red and changeless his color would stay,
Like the foxglove, or crown of the forest in May.

Torna

White teeth and red lips that no anger could feel,
As high over all burst the flame of his steel.
Like the moon, like the sun, like a beacon, burnt Niall,
Like a dragon-ship, flawless from bulwark to keel.

Tuirn, son of Torna

All the Kingdom of Kerry makes musical woe,
But my grief for his death must all grieving outgrow.
The East will be ravaged with blow upon blow,—
Since Niall is dead let all bitterness flow.

Torna

The Saxons are baying, the Lombards are sped,
And falls the bright Gael with his King who lies dead.

Tuirn, son of Torna

Once Tara was bright with the hair of his head,
Like iris for yellow, like gold for its red.

Nothing could be more typical than the color which illumines this dirge of death. Even when terror is uppermost, and the enemies of Ireland threaten to harry her coasts, the poet broods not on past victories or coming disaster, but on the sheen of the dead King's hair.

Thirdly, there is a constantly recurring sense of the weird, the magical, and the mystic, which reveals itself in a thousand similes and hyperboles, loaded with a cloying taste for the marvelous or the grotesque, without a keen appreciation of which the classical student is likely to find Irish poetry more productive of rhyme than of reason. It was this power of exaggeration in expression which Tennyson summed up in a phrase as the "blind hysterics of the Celt," though he made a fair effort to indulge in some such hysteria himself when he wrote the "Voyage of Maeldune" and described how

"We wallowed in beds of lilies, and chanted the triumph of Finn,
Till each, like a golden image, was pollened from head to feet."

Like the poetry of Robert Browning, that of the Celt relied on a finely educated as well as a strainingly attentive audience. Though the knowledge of Browning's allusions was so recondite as to be often shared by the poet with the poet's Creator alone, the allusions or symbols employed by the Celtic poet were based on a set coinage of phrases carrying a literary weight and value that no bard or reciter, however weird or far-reaching his flight, might dare to change or falsify. The hazel tree, for instance, is always allusive of the tree of knowledge, without further explanation. The hushing of women in travail and warriors in pain invariably connotes the presence of the most exquisite music.

The love of allusion and the practice of artistic hints which occupied the mind of the Irish poet is akin to the genius of Japanese painting, wherein the artist works not to surfeit the vulgar so much as to win the gentle wonder of the initiated. The obvious and the commonplace in diction or description was as detestable to the Celtic pen as the gaudy realism of European painting to-day is

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to the subtle brush of the Oriental. Even impressionism as an artistic term does not convey the love of the Irish for what was half said or glimpsed in his words, for impressionism leaves doubts and queries in its tracks, whereas both Celtic poetry and Japanese painting gave to the few qualified to judge such clear-cut emotions and certain delights as only the refinements of centuries could produce.

It is true that the Celt has never shown himself capable of a sustained effort in any sphere of art, preferring to exhibit his powers in the gleam of a short and brilliant effort, or in the achievement of some unexpected *tour de force*. It was characteristic of his writings that he never attempted to unravel plots or develop strong, silent characters through chapters of tedious description. He preferred to reveal a few flashlight incidents and accidents to sum up his characters, while the situations in which they strove remained to be guessed from some slight but unerring clue. His power of contrast and condensation could be tremendous, and we have snatches of poetry in which opposing emotions run unmixed, but molten, in adjacent lines. An entire novel of the expansive style could be composed out of the following situation from the history of Congal's rebellion, in which the foster-father reproaches the rebel for his unnatural feeling in turning against himself and country after he had been offered as conciliation "a steed from every shed and a cow from every herd, an apple from every rath, and a garden in every townland in Ireland." It must be remembered that the tie of fosterage with the Celt was stronger and more sacred than that of man and wife, and a foster-father trembled to slay his foster-son more than his own child.

"Let him have his desire, let him drink of his well.
No demon hath thought of forgiveness in hell!
Yet my fight is the fight of a doe with her fawn,
Of a mother who gores the sweet son she hath borne,
Or the strife of two brothers whose love has grown dim,
For Congal, sweet Congal, I taught and I fostered him,
And 'tis Congal the child that mine eyesight yet sees,
Whom I took from King Scannlan the brave, from his knees;
But now will I give thee a spear for a spear,
And like withering flame will I circle anear,
And thee the fierce javelin shall thrust through and quell—
No demon hath thought of forgiveness in hell!
Alas! there was none of thy race like to thee,
To go planning my ruin from land and from sea."

From this condensation of feeling and incident it has resulted that, though there are ten thousand stories in Irish, there is no single sustained epic. There is no Odyssey, though there are endless "navigations," as perilous journeys were called by the Irish story-tellers. There is no outlined system of philosophy, though there is a marvelous growth of proverbs and epigrams, which do not lose their savor with the years or even with translation. The bitterness of death, its contrast with life, and its unreasonableness remained a problem insoluble to the philosophy of the Celt, and he could meet it only with a few whimsical or passionate sayings dropped by the wayside. "Death is the best story-teller" is perhaps the most pregnant of these. He fell back upon such a passionate tenderness as is revealed in the dirge of Drilrosg for Armhor. This dirge, which is sober in comparison with the overwhelming grief that fills the laments of Cuchulain or Deirdre, gathers to a quiet pathos that the Greek anthology would scarcely surpass:

"Under the flag thou art lying,
O Love of all love of my heart,
Yet still through the mists of my crying,
Where mine eyelids have vision, thou art.

My grief and my woe! mine own brother!
Our bulwark and circle of fire,
Thou never shalt share with another
The spoil of the children of Ire.

And thou, where my brother is lying,
O love-laden mansion of grass!
Yet list to my heart that is crying
The deeds that my Love brought to pass."

In all his literature the Celt was haunted by the riddling terror of the after-life. He watched, or rather felt, his life moving swiftly under its burden of love and beauty into the gulf of the unknown.

Death he recognized as supreme. This supremacy seemed only the stronger for the momentary presence of light and love. All the thousands of transient colors that delighted his eye went only to enrich and darken the ultimate shadow towards which his creation moved.

It is only the pessimist, perhaps, who can really enjoy the passing glory of the world. Certainly of the ancient races none showed a more persistent pleasure in the pageant of nature and life than the Celtic people, whom Melancholy is thought to have most avowedly made her own.

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THE DESERTER

BY MARY KATHARINE REELY

I CONFESS that the O'Rell case puzzled me. Mike O'Rell was a good sort, as men go on Second Street—brought his pay envelope home on a Saturday night, was good to the children, and didn't drink much. And Minnie, for a woman of her years (she was twenty-two or so, I dare say, but looked ten years older after six years of married life), did remarkably well—gave Mike his meals on time and kept the children and the house up as well as her limited means and intelligence allowed. They got along together, too, very well. Romance dies young in such families, so that if people just get along together it is all one expects; one hardly looks for affection. And now, all of a sudden, without word or warning, here was Mike O'Rell deserting. He was out of work, of course: so many men are just now. And so many men out of work desert their families; but, some way, I had not expected it of Mike O'Rell.

I had been home over Sunday—had had an awfully good time, and had forgotten all about the Settlement—and I came back Monday morning joyous.

"Message for you, Miss Maris." I had not had time to get my hat off. "Mike O'Rell left home Saturday night—hasn't been seen since. You are to go right up."

It's funny how three minutes after you get back from a vacation you can forget you ever had one. I was a district visitor again on the instant. I dropped my suit-case inside my door, changed my coat, put on my other hat, and started for Second Street.

"Mike O'Rell," I kept saying to myself. "Of all men, Mike O'Rell!"

I found Miss Simons already there, and as she, as an Associated Charities agent, takes precedence over me, there was nothing for me to do. I took Freddy on my lap, and, with a word to Minnie, sat down while Miss Simons went on with her interview. She has been in the work five years—two years longer than I—and I look at myself in the glass sometimes to see if my mouth is settling into those grim lines, and if that look, cynical and suspicious, is coming into my eyes. When I see it begin, I am going to resign and go into some other profession—get married, maybe—anything to grow human again. Miss Simons is an expert. Her case records are the envy of every charity worker in the city. I don't know that anybody ever envied me anything, but I could tell her one thing, and that is, that if she wants to get information out of a woman she had better not sit down in front of her with a note-book.

"I don't know, ma'am," said Minnie, stolidly, with the expression of a blank wall.

"Had he been drinking?"

"I don't know; some, maybe."

"More than usual?"

"Um-m, I don't know."

"How much is usual?"

"Um-m, I don't know. What any workingman takes of a morning, maybe."

"Have you ever seen the man in a state of intoxication?" Miss Simons wheeled to me. And I swear that if I ever had I should have denied it. That's the effect Miss Simons had on me.

"Had there been any trouble between yourself and your husband?"

"Um-m, well—I don't know as there had."

"Mrs. O'Rell, have you any idea where your husband is, or why he left home?"

"Um-m, no, I can't say as I have."

Miss Simons snapped her note-book shut. "You see," she said, turning to me as she rose to go, "the woman would not help us if she could. And my suspicion is that she knows more than she tells. I shall notify the police at once, of course. The man is probably out of the State by now, but, thank Heaven, we have the inter-State law and can bring him back. If we can arrest this one case—"

"Arrest him?" Minnie was roused. "Arrest Mike? And what for, now?"

"She knows more than she will tell," said Miss Simons in a low voice as I followed her to the door. "Get it out of her. It may help us to trace him."

"And what if we do get him back?" I asked, a little curiously.

"Then," said Miss Simons, "we are relieved of the support of his family."

"But he had no work."

"He must find work. In a case of what appears to be pure shiftlessness—"

"Have you found it so easy to find work for men?" I said. "We haven't."

"Well," said Miss Simons, "we can't help a man till we are sure that he has tried.

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We must not break down self-respect. Nothing is more demoralizing than giving help to the able-bodied head of a family. Now all the thanks I got from this man for the suggestions I made was an outburst of profanity."

Miss Simons went her charitable way. So then, I thought, Mike had appealed to her for help. I hadn't known that it had gone so far. He had had a little money in the bank when he was laid off. But they had had the doctor for the baby, and, of course, living is so high.

I went in to Minnie, and—well, I am not an expert, and never will be. Minnie wept on my shoulder, and I patted her and petted her, and said consoling nothings to her. "Now," I said at last, "Minnie, what do you know about this? Why did Mike leave?" For my suspicions had been those of Miss Simons.

Minnie dried her eyes on her wet ball of a handkerchief. "Honest-to-Gawd, Miss Maris, I don't know. He was mad at me," she went on. "But that's nawthing. Only I suppose it was once too often, and he went, and didn't come back."

I got the story out of her—all there was to it, and there wasn't much. When Mike came home that afternoon—the same day he had appealed to the Charities, I gathered—Minnie had suggested that she should come down to ask us for work, leaving Mike to stay with the children, and Mike had said, "Damned-if-I-do!" and had left the house. That was the last seen of him.

It was not a very satisfactory explanation. But maybe Minnie was right. Maybe it was just a fit of temper. I would not have thought it of Mike, but, as Mrs. Hagarty, the next-door neighbor, said as I was leaving, "You can niver tell. Men are queer creatures. You'd think now," she said, "that a man would be willing to stay home and mind the childer for a day or so. Wouldn't you, now? He might do that much. Well, Miss Maris, I sometimes think you're as well off not being married. Honest, I sometimes think you are."

By night the case was pretty well arranged. I had seen the City Poor Department about the fuel, and had actually got it out of them! (It's the boast of the administration that they are cutting down expenses in that department.) The Charities agreed to put in temporary relief, and the visiting nurse promised the certified milk for the baby. Our employment secretary was to give Minnie work in the morning, and the children were to be taken into the Settlement nursery. We are dreadfully crowded, but we doubled up to take them in, as we always do. I was fairly well satisfied with the day's work, only I was a little disappointed. I have an india-rubber faith in humanity. It would spring up again in a day or so, I knew, but for that night it was pretty limp. I had always liked Mike O'Rell.

I ran up in the evening to tell Minnie about the work, and I stayed to help her with the dishes. She had been crying, and needed cheering up, poor girl! I let her talk away while she worked. It did her good. And she told me, irrelevantly, about the dress she wore when she was married to Mike and how much the lace cost a yard.

It was rather late when I left the house, but not more than nine or so. And, while I am not the least bit afraid around the neighborhood, because everybody knows me, I was startled when a man's figure darted out of the shadow of the house and made for the alley. I was not in the least afraid for myself, but I was startled. What was a man doing slinking about Minnie O'Rell's house, and her alone and unprotected? Not thinking, I started to follow. The man had paused and turned, and, seeing me, he came slowly back. It was one of those murky nights that come after a day of January thaw, and I suppose his figure loomed up bigger through the half-lighted mist. Then I was frightened—alone at the head of a dark alley with an unknown man bearing down on me.

"Well," he said, in a low, gruff voice, "I s'pose you seen me now."

The light of the street lamp struck his face.

"Mike!" I gasped.

"Well," he said, "what of it? And what you going to do about it?"

I heard again the snap of the elastic binder on Miss Simons's note-book as she had risen to go. "Report any word you may hear of this man. He must be arrested, for an example, if for nothing else."

"Step back into the shadow, Mike," I said. "This is Casey's beat. He's been instructed to watch for you."

"He's a friend of mine," said Mike. Nevertheless he did as I suggested. I followed.

"Casey's a good friend of mine. And, say," he said, "you're another. Ain't you now?"

I can't resist the Irish, ever, and the appeal in Mike's voice would have melted

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me. I tried to be professional. "I am," I said, "but I'm a friend of Minnie's, too."

"Sure, and I knew you was. I knew you was."

"But what are you doing here now?" I demanded.

"Looking in me own windy. I guess a man can, can't he? Say, they're all right in there now? They had a square meal? Yes? And there's the milk for the little shaver? And the medicine? And the bit of coal to warm them up? And Min? What's she going to do?"

"I have work for her to-morrow."

"What doing?"

"Fine ironing," I said. "Minnie's good at that."

"That's not so bad," he said. "And the kids?"

"They're coming to our nursery."

"That's it," he said. "That's it."

If the man's action had puzzled me before, his attitude was no more intelligible now. "Mike O'Rell," I said, "what, in the name of all that's sensible, did you leave home for, scare Minnie to death, and give us all this trouble?"

Mike nodded toward the house where Minnie's light still gleamed. He started to speak, but Casey, the patrolman on the beat, strolled into the light and we clung closer to the fence.

"What did you do it for?" I repeated.

"Lost me job," said Mike, succinctly. "It's one of the army of the unemployed I am. You know it!" He turned on me fiercely. "You know it! Don't talk to me! Me, that's walked the streets for two weeks, and earned twinty cints shoveling snow! Great country, this! Great system, that loses an honest man his job just because there's going to be a Prisident illicted a year from last November! Better get an Imperor William, say I, or a Czar of Russhy, or even a King George, say I, that will last a lifetime. Lord love you, Miss, if I ain't had work, you know how it is! And I told 'em so!"

I remembered Miss Simons's reference to the outburst of profanity. "What did they say to you down there?" I asked.

"Thank Gawd, you're not one of them!" said Mike. "Yes, I went down to their nice easy office, and I asked to see the head of the joint. Him being a man, I thought I could talk easier. And, damn it, with a wife and children hungry, what can a man do? They might 'a' knowed it wasn't for meself. Well, he wasn't in; was out giving a lecture on Pawverty, the pert young man with the specs says. 'But here's Miss Simons,' he says, 'as will interview you,' he says. And interview me she did! Got me name, and me father's name, and what me grandmither died av. Interview me! Yes, she did. And when she was t'ru, if she'd 'a' give me a glass of cold water, which she didn't, I'd 'a' t'rowed it in the face of her. 'We'll give you another week,' she says, 'to look for work,' she says. 'And if you don't find it, send your wife down, and we'll give her work.' A week! A week! Can't a kid die of starvation in a week? Or of the fever in a day? Send me wife out to work? Me?"

"Minnie *is* going to work," I protested.

"Well, she ain't supporting me, is she? Let her keep her little dollar and a half for herself and the kids. She ain't going to feed me on it. Let her take their charity. It's all right for women and childer, but not for me. I'll beg my way honest from door to door first."

I held out my hand in the darkness. "Come into the house and see Minnie before you go. She's breaking her heart. Thinks you're mad at her."

"Ah, poor girl!" he said. "Ah, now—" He made a step toward the house. "No," he said. "No, I ain't going to let her in on this. Let that sharp-eyed charity woman come around trying to find out me whereabouts, and it's a hard time the poor girl'd have lying for me. No! And maybe I can pick up a bit of money down in the country to send her with a letter. Maybe there's a jay or two down there don't know there's going to be a Prisident illicted next November."

He moved forward and stood looking at the window. "Sure, and they're all right in there," he said, a little wistfully perhaps. "They're all right, meself being out of the way. 'We can't give help to a family so long as there's an able-bodied breadwinner sitting around the house.'"

A form moved across the curtain of the lighted window. Mike O'Rell grasped my hand in a mighty grip. "You're a good sport," he said. "You ain't going to tell nothing—and you'll look after 'em."

"But, Mike," I called softly after him. It hurt me so to see him go. "Where are you going? What's to become of you?"

"Me?" he said, turning. "Don't you do no worrying about me. I'm going out to-night. Side-door Pullman on the C., B. & Q., going south."

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AN ADVENTURE IN PUBLIC OPINION

BY A PRESS SECRETARY

THE attitude of public opinion toward certain Nation-wide movements in cities which make a pretense of being metropolitan is very often humorous if it is not paradoxical and inconsistent. There are communities which are set dead against the entrance within them of railways, electric lights, cement sidewalks, paved roads, and sanitary sewers. We have seen such towns many times, or, if we have not seen them, we have placed them, in our minds, in some out-of-the-way section of the country or in the backwoods.

But one is hardly prepared to find practically an entire community of some thirty thousand people in a Middle Western State either decidedly apathetic or openly antagonistic toward the establishment of a Young Men's Christian Association and the possibility of a campaign for building funds. There are few such communities in the United States. Many places would like such an Association, but cannot afford the cost of building or the expense of maintenance. But it is unusual to find a fairly hustling manufacturing city whose people are unwilling to make certain definite sacrifices, financial and otherwise, in order to bring about such an end.

This particular city numbers several thousand employees in its industries. It supports at least twenty churches, half a dozen of which are magnificent edifices with large congregations. It is only a short ride by interurban from a metropolitan city of five times its size, and it boasts of a six-story office building in addition to one saloon for every thousand in population.

It shows unmistakable need of some social center for its hundreds of young men and boys, who, having no other interests to occupy them, must idle their leisure hours on the streets, in saloons or pool-rooms, or walk about the city at all hours of the night singing the latest ragtime "hit" and shouting ribald jests.

This adventure in public opinion covers a period of three weeks, which constituted the preliminary publicity campaign for a State Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association. It also marked the first systematic effort by a State committee to conduct a State-wide publicity campaign through the newspapers with the aid of an official "press agent."

The first revelation came when the press secretary discovered that the morning paper of the Convention city refused to use any Association news which was printed in the afternoon paper, and *vice versa*. Personal bickerings and petty jealousies were behind this editorial pronunciamento. It appeared as if there would be a muddle from the very start.

In answer to the press secretary's explanation of Association "news," the managing editor of the afternoon paper said:

"We'll be glad to print anything we think is news. But if the Young Men's Christian Association or any other concern wants any free advertising, they'll have to pay for it."

Anything which strayed from the path of strictly Convention news came within his definition of "advertising." It was equally impossible to convince him that the "free" press notices of the cheap and vulgar third and fourth rate melodramas and burlesques and some of the motion-picture shows were less interesting and entertaining than instructive articles on the general State work of the Association. Almost every other day, however, this paper used from two to eight columns of matter clipped from metropolitan papers—principally editorials.

The Convention was regarded at first as merely a proposition to "relieve the community," as it was expressed, of about five hundred dollars in cash. What it might accomplish was wholly lost sight of.

"If you fellows stick to your Convention and don't start a building campaign, you may come out all right; but, if you don't, you'll fail flat as a pancake," said one newspaper man. This was only begging the question, for the statement had been made repeatedly and emphatically that no building campaign would follow the Convention unless it was the desire of the townspeople themselves. If such were desired, the State Executive Committee would be only too glad to exert every energy toward putting through a vigorous campaign for building funds.

That very evening the same paper printed a half-column story declaring that the Young

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Men's Christian Association was already negotiating for the purchase of a site, and named half a dozen available locations. The denial which the managing editor, with some chagrin, agreed to print next day never quite offset the first error.

A prominent resident who might have contributed handsomely was afterward introduced to an Association secretary.

"Oh, yes," said he, "I see by the paper you're goin' to put up an Association here."

In answer to the denial he only said:

"Well, we had one of them Associations here ten year ago, an' I think it didn't pan out very well." It was a very difficult matter to explain to this man the wonderful—not to say marvelous—change through which the Association has gone during the past ten years.

The campaign included half a dozen neighboring towns, whose newspapers gave the Convention more publicity than those of the Convention city itself. One manufacturing city of ten thousand had the enterprise to send a delegation of a dozen representative business men to ask for the Convention the next year. These cities knew more about the Association and accorded its secretaries a heartier reception than the Convention city.

In the matter of funds to defray the general Convention expense, the local "corresponding" member found a large opposition. But this opposition was found to be less than that of the housewives who did not want to be "bothered with strange men in the house overnight," and who had been looked to to furnish accommodations for a large share of the delegates.

Business and professional men offered a most peculiar objection, one which was not a little amusing. Years before there had been a land-selling scheme for locating a number of factories. Residents, for once in their lives, waxed enthusiastic over the prospect of making their city one of the largest manufacturing centers in the State. A fund of some $400,000 was subscribed for several hundred acres for factory sites, and the promoters set to work to secure the industries. Seven factories were secured. Two of these were in a bankrupt condition when they came, and failed, despite a deal of local bolstering. Within a year two more failed, so that the plan fell through, and investors are still trying to get their money out of the land they bought.

This incident would seem wholly disconnected with an Association movement, yet the reader has no idea how many times it was brought out of the closet, as if the Young Men's Christian Association were a similar sort of doubtful enterprise. It was used as quite a satisfactory excuse.

The land-selling scheme had been followed by a "wet" and "dry" campaign, in which the saloons first lost and then won. This fight had separated the newspapers. It also seemed to be within the human order of things that members of one faction should not assist members of the other faction, despite anything for the public weal which might be contained in the move.

It was found useless to object to the treatment accorded Association news, but it was always interesting, if patience lingered, to get at the causes.

"There are men mixed up in this thing who are absolutely objectionable to a majority of the people," was one newspaper editor's reason for refusing to print Association news. One man, he said, was a rank Prohibitionist, another was a crook, another a political demagogue, a fourth ought to be in the penitentiary, and a fifth was "hooked up" with that land deal.

"If any of these fellows started out to raise money for a Young Men's Christian Association, do you know what we'd do?" he asked. "We'd simply sit back and hoot at 'em."

"But this is not a private enterprise," it was objected. "No one is making any money out of it but the city itself—the young men and boys who need it."

"Do you suppose I'd give a red penny to any enterprise or organization that those five fellows were connected with? Not on your life!" he exclaimed with some heat and an air of finality that closed the incident. It reminded the secretary of a young schoolmate who once made the heroic declaration before his fellows that, "if they thought he was going to study for old Teacher So-and-So, they were mighty much mistaken!" These crooks and demagogues on the committees were guilty of being good business men, good lodge members, and regular church attendants, all vitally interested in the welfare of their sons and daughters.

Then there were those who pointed to eight or ten men rich enough to build and equip an institution and present it to the city. Their attitude is hit off exactly by a popular phrase—"Let George do it." When

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told that, in a city of 40,000 not a hundred miles distant, 3,600 separate subscriptions ranging from 50 cents to $100 had gone into a building fund of $78,000, they had nothing to say, except perhaps that times were hard and it cost more to live nowadays.

What seemed to cap the climax was the blunt, brutal question of a local editor fired at a secretary:

"How much are you getting out of this?"

The secretary was on the point of fainting. He felt almost like giving up on the spot. Yet it did seem to be inconceivable to many residents that men should come into their city and work as the corps of Association men and local committeemen had worked without reaping some vast financial harvest.

Then came the last week of the preliminary work. A hundred newspapers throughout the State had been printing two or three stories a week. The metropolitan papers also had used some of the "feature" stories concerning State work, and had prodded their local correspondents for advance Convention news.

The whole scheme of things had been reduced to a perfect system of order, and things took shape in surprisingly prompt fashion. Then, and then only, the two newspapers and many of the opposition awoke to the fact that there was a strong current of determined human energy behind the movement. Banners appeared across the streets, announcements were made in the churches of impending meetings, posters adorned business display windows, and one newspaper actually asked the press secretary for a complete story of the final arrangements for the three-day Convention period. It was the first request for news, and the secretary called daily after that with his news. The converting influence in that instance seemed to have been the metropolitan papers, which set a standard which the lesser journals were ambitious to attain.

When over two hundred delegates came from all parts of the State, and those townspeople who were in sympathy with the movement attended the public meetings, there was a noticeable change in the public attitude. One hundred and fifty business men of the city attended a dinner planned for their benefit. Many went out of sheer curiosity, while others wanted to hear a famous after-dinner speaker. But their curiosity turned to active interest as the meeting progressed from dinner to speakers and then to a stereopticon lecture—always a convincing argument. A blind man could have seen the change in attitude as it crept over many of those business men. It certainly made the secretaries' hearts glad to see it. The account of this dinner and of a meeting at one of the churches the same evening was spread out over two pages of the twelve-page paper the next day.

The last day of the Convention (Sunday) was filled with meetings. A college president addressed a meeting of 2,500 men and boys in the opera-house, an attendance far beyond estimates of a week before. The managing editor of the afternoon paper—the most rabid opponent encountered—was there, and listened to a wonderful appeal to men with tears in his steel-gray eyes. As he left the meeting he said to the press secretary:

"I'd like to have two or three columns of this speech and meeting and a half-column editorial to-morrow morning, if you can get it to me by ten o'clock." The news and editorial copy was there in ample time, and was used in full.

The morning paper printed nearly five columns of news matter with half a dozen cuts, and commended the movement editorially. An incident which warmed the heart of the secretary occurred during the stress of getting out that Monday morning story in the newspaper office. It made him feel, in fact, that all he had gone through was perhaps worth while, after all.

"I want to apologize to you for my attitude in this thing," said the managing editor, stopping in the midst of his work. "I've been wrong most of the time, and I don't want you to go away from here thinking that I'm what I seem to be.

"I had no idea that the Young Men's Christian Association was the systematic business organization I have found it to be. That glimpse yesterday, and again to-day, gave me a new outlook. Why, you have every department running just like clockwork and every man in his place. I never saw anything so smooth as this Convention has been. So far as I could see, there hasn't been a ripple. I'm proud to know you fellows. I I hope you'll have occasion to come back here again some time in the near future. In the meantime, you can rely on this sheet doing some real boosting."

There has not yet been any concerted effort to establish an Association in a building in this city. Perhaps the time is not ripe for

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such a move. But the employed secretaries, the men "on the firing line," who fought their way through that hostile public sentiment, are confident that one day the seed they planted among the rocks and thorns will sprout into an Association plant, fully organized and completely equipped by "members of the opposition."

IMMORTALITY A PRESENT POSSESSION

BY CLARA E. MILLERD

A RECENT writer in The Outlook has said that the only really convincing proof of immortality is the consciousness that the thoughts and feelings and experiences of our lives are concerned with things which are eternal. This is profoundly true, and is surely one of the most significant things that has ever been said upon the subject. Perhaps the thought of this writer may be carried a step further. Is not immortality, after all, primarily a matter of the quality of a life rather than of its duration? The existence of a moth prolonged forever would not be an immortal life. A life that in its aspirations, its sympathies, its longings, touches the fundamental currents of life, touches God, is already eternal. The mere desire for continued existence has little significance. We all know that the material atoms that make up our bodies will live again in myriad forms of variety and beauty. There is no comfort in that fact to the heart that longs for eternal life. Merely to add year upon year of new experiences to a life finite in its scope, finite in its imaginative reach, finite in the range of its ideas, would have value, but not the kind of value that constitutes genuine immortality. An immortal life is a different kind of a life from a mortal one. Every moment of it is lived, to use that grand old phrase of Spinoza's, "under the form of eternity," "*sub specie æternitatis*." Eternal life is as different from finite life as light from darkness, as harmony from discord, as the Sistine Madonna from the daubs upon a painter's palette. To-day, in an immortal life, is radiant with significance, radiant with prophecy. To-day, in an immortal life, is illuminated by "the light that never was on sea or land." The mediæval painters loved to paint the Christ, or God, as sending forth light upon all around. The symbolism is true as well as beautiful. The element of the divine within us, the consciousness of this divine element, is what constitutes immortality.

As immortality has to do primarily with the kind of life, and not the length of life, it has many degrees. It seems strange, but it is none the less true, that to-day may be more or less immortal, more or less eternal. Real immortality is an achievement, and it cannot be altogether attained at once. Just as the fragile acorn sends its tendrils this way and that, penetrating deeper and deeper and wider and wider, until finally it is rooted firmly in its native soil and grows into majestic and enduring strength, so the soul may root itself little by little in God, its native dwelling-place, until it grows to the majesty of an immortal life.

The immortal life does not consist in rapt contemplation or adoration of God. It is dynamic. It is a life, not a state. It is a vital, creative energy, not a mere way of thinking and feeling. As gravitation binds the smallest clod to the most distant stars, so the immortal life connects the soul with all that lives. Love is its essence. In dynamic, creative love the soul realizes its immortality.

Love, like gravitation, has many homely tasks to perform. But the homeliest task it can illumine with an eternal radiance. In washing another's feet, or in giving a cup of cold water, life finds present immortality.

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THE SPECTATOR

THE entrance to the Gully Road, now that August is drawing to its feverish close, must seem a golden gate to those who whirl by it in their motor cars, for it is half choked with blooming goldenrod where a few weeks ago it was blue with cornflowers. The highway, with its oily black center, is a great contrast to the delta of clean sand which every storm washes out upon it from the track between the beautiful weeds. This Gully Road, now so neglected, was in old times a part of one of the great highways of Long Island, the post-road connecting all the little ports and shore villages from Gowanus Bay to the Peconics. Just here it came along the crest of Chicken Hill and over the rise of Brewster's Hill —there is a big seventeenth-century house now down at the harbor where they say Elder Brewster himself lived for a time—and then, descending to the head of the bay, it turned eastward over the rise of Briar Hill to the next bayhead. As time went on, however, the small tidal inlet here was dammed and bridged near its mouth, the marsh silted up or was filled in, the shore-front changed from a farmers' clam flat to a ship-building yard, and a new highway was built beside it. Thus this piece of the ancient post-road was left inland, and its former dignity was so far forgotten that lately it required a search of records to prove that it ever had been, and still was, county property.

Although its status had been lost sight of even in this conservative settlement, the road itself could not be forgotten. Nothing is more permanent than man's marks upon the earth. Even a century of plowing has not made untraceable those elevations in the Mississippi Valley which once bore the stockades and cabins of the mound-builders. The trenches and earthworks thrown up in the Civil War, or even in Revolutionary campaigns, may yet be found, low but distinct, in many a field and wood-lot. The trails and wallows of the lost herds of buffaloes still indent the surface of our Western plains and will be discernible for generations to come wherever undisturbed. These are very modern instances, but in Turkestan explorers of former oases, abandoned because of that progressive drought of climate which compelled the departure of their population ten thousand years ago, may still map out the irrigation channels, dikes, and low terraces incident to the agriculture of that far-gone era.

But trails and roads, worn and hardened by the tramping of thousands of men and animals, are now more enduring. The emigrant trail through South Pass to California is a broad, grassy depression as easily followed now as when it was studded with the carts, prairie-schooners, and bull trains of the gold-seekers of 1849 and 1850. There are places where even the meager Escalante trail may be traced. These also are comparatively recent examples, but much older ones are not hard to find.

Some years ago the Spectator spent a little time in Surrey, England. There, not far from Coulsden Common, a double row of gnarled and storm-bent yews attracted his eye, and closer attention noted others continuing at irregular intervals a line which here and there had a curiously terraced appearance on the hillsides. He believed that these were indications of an abandoned roadway of great age, and further study convinced him that it marked the course of the great Pilgrim Road from the west to Canterbury. Later, in Sussex, one of the longest-civilized parts of England, he wandered along narrow, sloping roads sunken sometimes twelve or fifteen feet deep between mossy walls of chalky or stiff clay little disposed to wash down or cave in, while trees and bushes, rooted on the summits (the country level) on each side, overhung like the roof of a verdant tunnel. It was plain that these deeply trenched roads had not been purposely dug, but were the result of centuries of travel by pack-horses and carts, which had worn them down wherever a slope allowed the dust to be washed and blown away.

And this brings us back to the Gully Road and shows why it has come to be so called—*has come*, for it is only latterly that it has acquired the character of a ravine. It crosses a low wooded ridge, the summit of which is tough gravel, but the slopes of which are of looser soil —that fertile till which lay on the safe northern side of the great glacial moraine which is Long Island, and never was washed and reassorted by the ocean as the south side has been. It is doubtful whether the forefathers found it needful, considering the then high level of the connecting road westward, to make any cutting at all on the hill, except possibly at a sort of shoulder where terraces on each side as high as one's head show what seems to be the original level. The rear of a disused barn, now held together only by the crisp pea-green and gray lichens and moss on its ashy, worm-eaten old boards, where the wasps come to get paper material for their nests and the flickers hammer in pure enjoyment of the hollow racket they can make—those boards come down to foundations on this terrace. This sounds very archæological, but it is only circumstantial history. When

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the post-road was diverted to the new harbor and shore road, and steadily graded down to suit the advancing "improvements," this old piece over Briar Hill was left as a useless relic, of service only to a few as a wood-road or a cut-off, and was no longer cared for. At once—for Nature is ever on the watch to reclaim ground lost for a time to man's domination—sun and frost and rain began their replevin. The light soil, disturbed along the single wheel-track, was swept down by wind and water until a narrow gully has been aggraded, hardly half as wide as the original road, and ten feet deep in places.

It is so narrow because a rank vegetation of trees and shrubs and herbage long ago took possession of the high neglected borders and protected them against washing, except in the central track at the bottom. This tangled borderage, rising steeply on each side and shaded by outreaching tree-tops, makes the Gully Road a beautiful place in summer. Nowhere in early spring does the local naturalist find pleasanter promises of reawakening life. Here, sheltered from the winds, gather juncos, whitethroats, and fox-sparrows—finest of their race, and seeming proudly conscious of their beauty; while song-sparrows and Canada sparrows carol in rivalry overhead or join their larger fellows and the goldfinches and towhees in their feast upon the berries and seeds still so abundant in the thickets below. Later the gully becomes a gallery of color and music, and a rich field for the insect-hunter.

The banks are indeed perfect little Northern jungles. A score of different trees may be catalogued. The ancient high borders are defined by rows of gale-torn cedars and cherry trees annually producing bushels of fruit for the benefit of innumerable squirrels, robins, cedar-birds, blue jays, and what-not; while in May masses of dogwood bloom light up the densely mingled foliage that struggles eagerly out toward light and air. Underneath, of course, is an impenetrable tangle of vines and low scrub, silvery green ropes of catbrier, knotted threads of grape and ampelopsis, content to creep where they cannot climb, and fuzzy chains of poison ivy crowding in everywhere among the good plants like—well, find your own moral simile! Blackberries and raspberries strive to outdo even the smilax in prickly vigor. And over all, in this late summertime, spreads a veiling network of wild buckwheat, making the most of a brief life. As for the weeds, well, what are there not in this collection, from the miserable ragweed which kills off the grass to the tall, swaying sow-thistle that invites the slash of a stick to cut down its weak and ugly impudence? Here thrive the feathery yarrow, the exquisite cassia which meekly folds its rows of leaflets if you speak to it harshly, velvety mulleins, primroses, bouquets of goldenrod as big as barrels, and a carpet of pretty little flowering plants, most of which bloom by English roadsides just as they do in this land to which their seeds were brought long ago.

The "human interest" in this so charming bit of secluded old road centers in a shanty half up the slope, where is manifested neglect and degradation of its own kind; but that is "another story."

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

A PIONEER WOMAN'S COLLEGE

In Dr. Abbott's most interesting article "Democracy in Education," published in The Outlook of August 10, it is stated that girls were not admitted to any of the colleges before 1850. But Oberlin in 1833 admitted women on the same terms as men. And as far back as 1830, under the patronage of President Bishop, of Miami University, and two of his professors, McGuffey and Scott, the latter the father-in-law of President Harrison, a school was founded for the higher education of women in Oxford, Ohio, with Miss Bethania Crocker, the daughter of a Massachusetts clergyman, in charge. In three or four years she married the son of President Bishop, and the Misses Smith and Clark, one of them being the sister-in-law of Henry Ward Beecher, became principals. In 1839 this school was formally chartered by special act of the Ohio Legislature. A regular cottage system for boarding pupils from a distance had been established for several years. Mr. Harry Lewis, the uncle, I think, of Mrs. Philip Moore, had in his own home several of those boarding pupils. In 1849 the Oxford Female Institute was chartered by special act of the Ohio Legislature and the property of the Academy was turned over to this institution. In 1855–6 a handsome building in the east part of the village was dedicated for the Oxford Female College, another institution started under the auspices of the old school Presbyterian Church. In 1867 these colleges for girls were formally united by purchase. From their incipiency, the schools had the avowed purpose of offering to

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girls the same opportunities for higher education that the boys were enjoying in Miami University, which latter institution did not become co-educational until 1895. The college girls pursued the same branches as the Miami boys, and, although their curriculum could not compare favorably with that of our best high schools, it represented the college standards of those early days.

Professor Upham, in his "History of Miami University," reports that he has found references to a school for girls in Oxford as early as 1827–8. The intellectual activity of Oxford is traceable to the influence of the New England scholars who settled in southern Ohio in the early days, and especially to the Beechers, who, in their westward progress, unlike the wandering Jew, left a trail of educational institutions behind them. JANE SHERZER.

The Oxford College for Women,
Oxford, Ohio.

THE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER

As a teacher in one of our city high schools, I should like to take exception to several statements made by Professor Chase in The Outlook of July 27.

The best of our high schools now require their teachers to have college training and previous experience in teaching. As ability (not sex) is the chief requisite, and as women as well as men have "experience of life," it is plain to be seen that the former can fill the requirements of being a high school teacher quite as well as the latter. The degree of "sympathy with young people" felt by teachers depends upon the individual; nevertheless, it might be assumed that, upon the whole, women teachers possess at least as much of this desirable quality as men teachers.

Professor Chase says: "Boards of education not uncommonly are pleased to fill such positions with seven-hundred-dollar inexperienced girls. . . . The only person who should be thus employed is the man or, in rarer cases, the woman who makes teaching a life profession." Boards do, indeed, make a mistake in offering only seven hundred dollars for such work, but why such positions should be rarely offered to women I fail to see. On account of the narrow, old-fashioned policy which still prevails in most of our Eastern cities of making women ineligible for the higher positions, the schools are losing some of their best teachers. The fact that women are taking advantage of the larger opportunities in other professions and in business life shows the policy to be a shortsighted one which fails to offer the same opportunities for advancement to both men and women teachers.

It seems as though Professor Chase does not sufficiently appreciate the faithful work done by women teachers when he says: "The admitted prime motive for such a person being in the profession is to acquire temporary self-support and the means of attracting a suitable life companion." Even acquiring "temporary self-support" is not an unworthy ambition. When it is found, upon investigation, as was lately the case in one of our largest cities, that one-third of the women teachers, besides supporting themselves, had others dependent upon them, it looks as though many women did not have much of a chance at being only "temporarily self-supporting."

Another condition which makes a great number of women teachers permanently self-supporting is that they enter the profession believing that they have the qualities of a good teacher and thinking of marriage only as a possibility in case they should be fortunate enough to meet a suitable companion. They expect, as high-minded women to-day do, the same moral standard in men they would marry that they require of themselves, which makes their chances of "attracting a suitable companion" less likely. It seems as though men, who use teaching merely as a stepping-stone to other professions, were the temporary teachers and women the permanent ones.

Gradually, as women's work comes to be better understood and more highly appreciated, boards of education will offer equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunities for all teachers; and our great universities will be glad to secure the services of many valuable teachers who are now overlooked. A. C. B.

PERSONAL CHRISTIAN WORK

Pardon me for protesting against the spirit of the article in The Outlook for August 10, 1912, entitled "Letters to Unknown Friends."

It is of course true that Christ never forced any one to talk with him regarding spiritual matters. You are, however, at variance with the record when you say in your article that "the woman at the well opened the conversation with him." By referring to John iv. 1, etc., it is quite clear that the conversation, much to the astonishment of the woman, *was opened by Christ* asking her for a drink of water, and then adroitly leading the conversation to spiritual things. This is Christ's method, and should be the method of every true follower. *Force no man*, but attempt to *lead all*. Here is the standard; attempt to carry it out as far as possible, and if one addressed on this great subject, after a tactful approach, takes exception and objects to the conversation, we agree then that there is absolutely nothing in the whole Bible to warrant any individual, church, or government forcing upon him the consideration of the subject, but rather the contrary is true, "Let him alone." L. C. V.

Germantown, Tennessee.

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BY THE WAY

Mrs. Janet Ross is one of the few living persons who ever had the temerity to rebuke Thomas Carlyle. When Mrs. Ross was a child of six, she was present at a somewhat animated conversation between her mother and Mr. Carlyle. She became indignant at the blustering tone of the philosopher, and burst out with the exclamation, "My papa says men should be civil to women!" Carlyle paused and then remarked graciously to the little girl's mother, "Lucykin, that child of yours has an eye for an inference!"

Americans who went abroad this summer to escape the heat found that they had gone too far, for complaints are general that Europe has had cold and disagreeable weather this season. Tourists in England especially have suffered from cold, and it is even reported that there was a heavy fall of snow in central England on the August Bank Holiday.

It is pleasant to learn that some of the garment workers of New York City are bettering their industrial conditions. Last week the cap-makers of that city secured a Saturday half-holiday the year around, and the furnishing of sewing-machines in the shops by the employers instead of having to provide them for themselves. A strike was thus happily averted.

Ex-President Diaz, of Mexico, is now living in Switzerland. He is reported to be in good health, clear of mind, and "as erect as a West Point cadet, despite his eighty-four years." He maintains that he could have held his position in Mexico by force, but that he desired only Mexico's good, and felt that it was wiser to withdraw. That sounds patriotic, but hardly explains why Diaz lost his grip on things.

A new hemp-breaking machine promises to bring renewed prosperity to certain districts of the South. In slavery days hemp-raising was a great industry; Kentucky, for instance, devoted 30,000 or 40,000 acres to the crop, while latterly scarcely a tenth of this acreage has been employed in this way, for breaking hemp by manual labor is extremely hard work, and the laborers grew scarce. Now the machine is said to have produced excellent results, and a large extension of hemp-raising is looked for.

A statistician has calculated that during the year 1911 there were twenty-two billion telephone calls throughout the world. Fourteen and a half billion of these were in the United States.

The National Secretary of the Associated Clubs of Domestic Science, Mrs. Christine Frederick, is applying efficiency methods to her own housework. She tells in the "Ladies' Home Journal" how she used to wash eighty dishes after dinner, taking three-quarters of an hour to do the work poorly by the old methods. Now she washes the same number of articles in half an hour, and better, by the scientific method. The elimination of "lost motions" is the chief factor in bringing about this most desirable result.

Three or four decades ago the banana was almost unknown in the United States, while to-day we are importing nearly 30,000,000 bunches of the fruit annually. Of these New Orleans gets nearly one-half, making it the greatest banana port of the world; Boston, Mobile, and New York come next, in the order named. England also has lately become a great consumer of bananas.

Three survivors of the Civil War are more than one hundred years old. One of these, at the age of 103, recently walked from his home in Jersey City to the pension agency in Brooklyn to see why his quarterly pension check had not arrived:—"Congressional Record" please copy!

Outside the walls of a temple in Puri, India, says the "Christian Herald," lie remnants of this year's car of Juggernaut. A new car is built every year. "The British Government," says the "Herald," "now prevents the sacrifice of life under the car." We note that Sir W. W. Hunter, the authority on India, in speaking of the reports of death under the wheels of this car, says that "nothing could be more opposed to the spirit of Vishnu-worship than self-immolation." Suicide in this way, it appears, is about on a par with self-destruction under the wheels of railway cars in America.

The youngest Mayor in the United States, says the "American Magazine," is Joseph F. Sullivan, of Imboden, Arkansas. He was elected just before his twenty-first birthday, and assumed office just after that anniversary. He is a "self-made man" in more than the usual sense, for he won his education and supported his widowed mother notwithstanding the fact that he is a cripple and goes about Imboden in a wagon drawn by two goats.

That the old order changes even in a church that is supposed by some to be immutable is seen in the announcement that the Sisters of St. Joseph, a Roman Catholic order, are to erect on their property in Brooklyn, New York, an up-to-date building in which Catholic girls will be trained for a business life.

A fellow-craftsman of Benjamin Franklin, Isaiah Thomas, whose career in many respects closely paralleled that of his more famous compatriot, has been honored by a biography issued by the Club of Odd Volumes of Boston. Thomas began to set type at the age of seven; when eight he set the types for an edition of the "New England Primer;" when thirteen he engraved the cuts and printed the sheets for "The New Book of Knowledge;" later he founded the newspaper "The Massachusetts Spy," and still later the American Antiquarian Society.

Guadalajara, Mexico, which occupies the second place among the cities of that republic, has been devastated by earthquakes during the past few months. A newspaper report makes the curious statement, in referring to these disturbances, that parrots are the best prophets of seismic troubles, and that they have frequently given warning to Guadalajara's residents, by their peculiar cries, when an earthquake was impending.

Mrs. Malaprop, who, it will be remembered, once said that a pantry was a place for keeping pants and a vestry was a place where vests were made, now shows herself to be up with the times, according to an exchange, by supplying a questioner with the information that "an apiary is where they keep apes and an aviary is where they keep air-ships."

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